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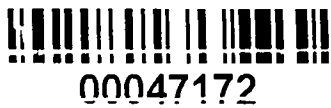

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VOL. II

THE PALI LITERATURE OF BURMA

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BY

MABEL HAYNES BODE PH.D.

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PREFATORY NOTE

I WISH to express my best thanks to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for giving this little work a place among the Society's publications. To Professor Rhys Davids I owe, once again, a grateful acknowledgment of inspiration to begin a task and encouragement throughout. To him also as Editor of the Journal of the Pali Text Society my thanks are due for permission to reprint in Chapters I and II some of the material appearing in my article, "Early Pali Grammarians in Burma" (JPTS., 1908). My obligations to many others, by whose labours I have profited, will be seen in the pages of the Essay. Finally, I can only thank Dr. Barnett for his untiring kindness by reminding him that there are very few of those pages which do not owe something to his advice and help.

M. H. B.

LONDON, 1909.

ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEO. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.*. Hanoi. 1901, etc.

GV. Gandhavaṃsa (JPTS.). 1886. Index, 1896.

JPTS. *Journal of the Pali Text Society.* London. 1882, etc.

JRAS. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* London. 1834, etc.

P.TH. Piṭakatthamain. Rangoon. 1906.

P.T.S. Pali Text Society.

SVD. Sāsanavaṃsadīpa. Colombo. 1881.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Students may consult with advantage—

I. The whole of the Pali Text Society's publications (for the older Pali literature). Frowde. London, 1882, etc.

II. Translations of the same which have appeared in various languages (see the useful bibliography of works on Buddhism, by Mr. A. J. Edmunds, in the Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1902).

Particularly interesting for comparison of Burmese versions with Pali are the translations of Jātakas from the Burmese, by Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, years 1892, 1893, 1894, 1896. [Cf. the Jātaka, translated from the Pali by various hands under the editorship of E. B. Cowell. 6 vols. Cambridge, 1895, etc.]

III. Bibliographies and Catalogues as follows :—

1. Bibliographies.

(*a*) General. Scherman (Professor L.). *Oriental Bibliography.* (Quarterly.) Berlin, London, Paris, and New York.

(*b*) Indo-China. Cordier (Henri). *Essai d'une bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à la presqu'île indo-chinoise. Première partie—Birmanie et Assam. Toung Pao*, série II, vol. vi.

(*c*) Burma. Ireland (Alleyne). *The Province of Burma, a report prepared for the University of Chicago* (with extensive bibliography). Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. Boston and New York, 1906.

2. Catalogues.

(*a*) The catalogues of Pali and Burmese MSS. and printed books in the Oriental Department of the British Museum.

(*b*) The same in the India Office Library.

(*c*) The alphabetical list of manuscripts and books in the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon, by C. Duroiselle. This collection offers an excellent field for research, being under the care of Professor Duroiselle, who, in his large and intimate knowledge of Burmese literature, stands alone among Palists.

(*d*) Catalogues of Pali and Burmese MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

IV. Finally, a few examples may be given from the mass of Pali and Burmese books in the British Museum. They consist chiefly of editions of celebrated Pali works, commentaries by Burmese authors, anthologies, and translations into the vernacular. The descriptions are borrowed from Dr. Barnett's catalogue.

Canonical Works. Suttapiṭaka (entire). Edited by Ko Aung Min Hsayā and others. 1904.

Cariyāpiṭaka, with Burmese exegetical commentary. Mandalay, 1899.

Milindapañhavatthu. Burmese translation from the Milinda. Rangoon, 1882.

Abhidhamma. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, of Anuruddha, followed by Sumaṅgalasāmi's Ṭīkā-Kyaw or Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī in elucidation thereof, and copious Burmese commentary. Rangoon, 1898.

Maṇimedhajotaka Kyan. A Burmese treatise on Buddhist psychology, based on the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, and illustrated from Pali texts. Maulmein, 1882.

Saṅkhepavyākaraṇa. Burmese epitome of Abhidhamma doctrine as codified in the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, illustrated from Pali texts. Rangoon, 1899.

Paramatthamedhanī Kyan. Treatise on the four conditions of the absolute. Illustrated from Pali Texts. Rangoon, 1895.

Grammar. Mahārūpasiddhi, with Burmese interpretation. Rangoon, 1906.

Ñvādi-Moggallāna. Pali treatise on Grammar, by Saṅgharakkhita, based on the Grammar of Moggallāna, with Burmese *nissaya.* Rangoon, 1900.

Alaṅkāra-nissaya. Being the Subodhālaṃkāra of Saṅgharakkhita in Pali, with commentary. Rangoon, 1889.

Dhātvatthudīpaka. Treatise in Pali verse on the significations of Pali roots, by Aggadhammālaṃkāra, with Burmese commentary. Rangoon, 1899.

Law. Navadhammasattha, by Hsin-pyu-mya-shin, king of Toungoo. A Pali digest of nine law-books. Law of Inheritance. Edited with Burmese translation. Akyab, 1894.

Veda. Makaranda-bedin-let-yo-Ṭīkā, commentary on the Makaranda-bedin, handbook of astrology. Mandalay, 1905.

INTRODUCTION

THE Pali literature of Burma owes its existence to the Pali literature of India. It is many years since the latter was first explored by the great scholars and pioneers—Fausböll, Lassen, Rhys Davids, Trenckner, Childers, Oldenberg—whose reward has been a gain to Oriental learning vast enough to content even them. With time a part of the material discovered has been brought within the reach of students by critical editing. Buddhistic literature is immense in quantity and bewildering in varied interest, and it was never more difficult than now to avoid being too much of the specialist. But the student of Buddhism who limits himself to one language or looks for solution of all questions in one literature risks slipping into an orthodoxy of his own. A sounder principle has long guided Buddhist studies; modern research has gone forth, like Aśoka's missionaries, to Further India, China, Japan, Tibet, Siam, and French Indo-China, armed with patience as they were with conviction, as resolutely determined to learn as they were to teach.

There is need nowadays to seek further in Burma, or rather, need to be better acquainted with what has already been found there. Among the countries in which the ideas and traditions of Buddhism are inseparably bound up with the Pali canon Burma possesses a special interest which we hardly feel in the case of Ceylon, for Burma shows how the leaven of Indian thought worked in a race and idiom having none of the close relationship with India which we recognize in all that is most characteristic of the literature of Ceylon. We may say that the essentially Indian genius, the psychological subtleties, and high thoughts of Buddhism have forced the Burmese language to grow, deepen, and expand continually. When Burmese was at last raised (in or about the fourteenth century) to the level of a literary language, it was by the addition of a great body of Indian words necessary to express ideas beyond the scope of that picturesque vernacular. Being

an agglutinative language, Burmese lacks the force, terseness, and delicacy that Pali owes to its nominal and verbal inflections and its power of forming elaborate compounds. Thus before the translating period, authors of Burmese race had studied Pali and learned to use it; ever since the twelfth century it has been a tradition of Burmese scholars to produce literary work in Pali, and it is with this work only that we are now concerned.

A survey of the Pali literature of Burma is not quite a new undertaking. In the year 1879 a report on the subject was drawn up for the Government of India by Dr. Emil Forchhammer, Professor of Pali at Rangoon, who had begun a thorough search for manuscripts in monasteries and private collections, and whose premature death cruelly cut short a work full of promise. This and other reports of Forchhammer, on the archæological remains of Arakan and Burma, are Government publications; and his studies of Buddhist law (published by Sir John Jardine with his own valuable Notes, 1882–3, and in the *Jardine Prize Essay*) are now extremely rare books, and the stores of knowledge they contain are not available at every moment. And we ought also to profit by the labours of that brilliant and far-seeing scholar Minayeff, to whom we owe the discovery and publication (to mention only one work) of the Gandhavaṃsa ('Book History'), written in Burma, a short but interesting account of the earlier Pali literature of Ceylon and Burma. The Gandhavaṃsa is unfortunately very sparing of details, and gives us little information as to the period of the works it enumerates, but its help is most useful in settling some questions of authorship and place. Minayeff, who used this book for his *Nouvelles Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, does not offer any conclusion as to its date, but from comparison with the Sāsanavaṃsa and a still more modern Burmese work, the Pitakatthamain[1] (1906), it appears to be a seventeenth century production.

For both the early and modern periods (from the twelfth to

[1] I have to thank Professor Barnett for bringing to my notice this useful Burmese bibliography of Buddhist works.

the nineteenth centuries) we find great help in the Sāsanavaṃsa,[1] which, happily, observes the good traditions of Burmese chronicles and cares for chronology.[2] It enables us at least to sketch in outline a connected story, while but for this record we could only enumerate works of doubtful date and mention authors without knowing what period in the growth of their country and Order had brought them forth. The Sāsanavaṃsa, though a very mine of interest as compared with the arid little Gandhavaṃsa, has its limitations. It is confused, rambling, and prejudiced. The author, a high ecclesiastic of Min-dôn-min's reign, belonged by all his convictions and traditions to the Sīhaḷasaṅgha, an important school or sect having, as the name shows, a close connexion with the fraternity in Ceylon. As for the other communities, whose spiritual forefathers refused to look on the Mahāvihāra, that famous monastery of the old commentators, as the very centre and hearth of orthodoxy, they interest him only moderately. He will sometimes dismiss one of their authors with the driest, curtest mention of the man and his book, while he will delight us with details and anecdotes of more orthodox writers. It would be interesting to have the picture filled in for us by a biographer influenced by the old Talaing tradition, the tradition, that is, of Lower Burma. For this school, known as the Mrammasaṅgha (fraternity of Burma), maintained that there was no need to have recourse to Ceylon for teachers in the unbroken 'line of descent' from the ancient missionaries. This question, almost impossible to settle with certainty, after the vicissitudes that the Buddhist Saṃgha had seen in both countries, divided the Order in Burma with a sharp line of

[1] This text (edited for the Pali Text Society in 1897 by the present writer) has supplied much material for the following chapters. Other sources have been used to verify or correct where it has been possible. The whole of the Sāsanavaṃsa's literary information, as far as it concerns Burma, is given in the course of the present work.

[2] I have thought it best to adopt throughout this essay the chronology of my two principal Burmese authorities, Paññāsāmi and the author of the Piṭakatthamain. But I must remind the reader that their (traditional) starting-point, the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, is no longer placed by scholars at 544 B.C. but some sixty years later. See article by Dr. Fleet, JRAS., April, 1909, *The Origin of the Buddhavarsha*.

partisanship. Therefore we must beware of considering the Sāsanavaṃsa a complete record of monastic work. Nevertheless the author's own point of view is instructive, and we have no right to say that he does not try to be impartial. And if we follow only his guidance in our choice of the books to explore we must arrive at some knowledge of what is, after all, of the most interest in such researches; we can see the intellectual development of Burma through Buddhism and the adaptation of the non-Indian mind to Indian culture, with the conception of science and the standard of literary art evolved in that adapting process.

We cannot, of course, do justice to these questions in a short sketch. The effect of Indian Buddhism on Burmese life and literature has many manifestations. We can instance some as widely apart as codified law and religious art. In the remote past we find both Brahmanic and Buddhistic sources of Burmese written law. And the religious art of the country is by no means without its problems (for example, the extent of Mahāyāna or 'Northern' influence), which those who are masters of this subject are gradually solving for us.[1] So the subject spreads in its fascinating complexity, if we will let it, far beyond our simpler theme; but it must suffice for this essay to follow (if with less serene confidence) the way marked out by the devout and simple scholars of Burma, who have left us a literature derived entirely from the Pali canon and representing almost invariably the Hīnayāna[2] traditions of Buddhist belief.

Beginning with the study of the language consecrated in Ceylon as the instrument of the highest teaching, then commenting and composing in Pali and at last interpreting that teaching in their native tongue, the Burmese monks have left us a complete revelation of their mind. Neither the sculpture, painting, legends, plays, customs, nor law-codes of the Burmese,

[1] See p. vii.

[2] This Buddhist phrase, 'the lesser vehicle,' may be employed as a convenient term for the tradition as observed in the southern countries early won to Buddhism, a tradition more sober in its legend and somewhat more austere and practical in its morality than the Mahāyana (or school of the 'greater vehicle').

significant as they are, could serve to show us what their religious literature alone unfolds—their manner of grappling with an abstract subject.

Buddhism, as any other Indian system would have done, gave them a large opportunity. They did their best with it. But Buddhist theories demanded an effort of abstraction doubly severe for learners whose first lesson in philosophy was learned with those theories.[1] In India, where certain of the Upaniṣads belonged to a yet earlier phase of thought than the doctrines of Gotama, men's minds were prepared for Buddhist conceptions. A philosophical language was already formed in which the teacher or the disputant could lead his hearers step by step in an idiom they knew to conclusions not unfamiliar to their minds. But in Burma the grammar of the Buddhist texts first had to be studied, and when the great legend of the Founder was learned and the code of the Order had grown familiar, there was still a new world to conquer, a new science to master. After the Sutta and Vinaya there was the Abhidhamma to interpret. Here perhaps we shall find the Pali compositions of Burmese authors less interesting than their translations into Burmese.

The Sanskrit commentaries composed in India on Buddhist texts are enlightening in proportion as the student is familiar with all Indian philosophies and can point out parallels and contrasts; the Pali commentaries of Burma naturally only lead us back to the Siñhalese and Indian models they faithfully copy. When we leave Pali and come to Burmese interpretations of Abhidhamma texts we feel that we follow our commentators in a (to us) somewhat dark adventure; but yet the effort of these authors in their own vernacular is interesting as an effort to do more than recite the consecrated words of their ancient masters. Here is the key to the sense really given by the Burmese to Indian abstractions, the key not to be found where they use the exotic and traditional Pali form.

[1] A friend has suggested to me a comparison between these studies in Burma and the gradual mastery by Bede and Alfred and their followers in England of the philosophy of Paul and John. It was not until Wyclif's time, six centuries after Bede, that these abstract questions were discussed in English.

By it we have access to some curious treasure, rewarding the search of the scholar familiar with the Burmese tongue, provided he be a Palist and (be it said without impiety) endowed with two of the Buddhist 'perfections'— the power to spend himself and be very patient. Knowledge of the Pali commentaries of Burma is the natural beginning of this attractive enterprise, but by no means the end.

The commentaries, though the most important part, are not the whole of the Pali literature. The technicalities of Indian grammar have attracted Burmese authors from an early period. The work of the famous Kaccāyana is all but canonical among them, and the procession of his followers and commentators stretches through eight centuries of literary history. The qualities of mind innate in the quick-witted Burmese race were lent to the service of the Word so religiously respected. The Pali scriptures had not been a hundred years in Upper Burma before a grammar—the Saddanīti—was composed in Pali that called forth the wondering admiration of the scholars of Ceylon, though Ceylon was certainly the forerunner and model of Burma in exegesis.

Again, the practical side of monastic life was a subject well within the scope of the Palists of Burma. We have very numerous examples of work in this field, from the time of their first controversy on Ordination in Narapati's reign (A.D. 1167–1204) till the present day.

In the secular domain the Pali language has been employed (as we should expect) where solemnity was called for or the sense of an antique tradition was needed to support authority; for instance, some important law-codes exist, and others probably existed, in Pali versions. Pali is also the language chosen for the collections of maxims known as the 'Nīti' literature, and for various chronicles (we can instance the Rājavaṃsa, Sāsanavaṃsa, and Gandhavaṃsa).

Finally we come to the very limited province of Pali verse in Burma. Here and there among our authors we catch a glimpse of scholars who have a touch of the poet in them and some of the poet's ambition. We do not know that they ever approached the favourite theme of the poets of all ages.

f they did, the chronicles have passed it over in silence. A love story sometimes forms part of an edifying narrative from Pali sources; but the love lyric is the undisputed realm of the poets of the vernacular. Jātakas and other moral legends were the material usually chosen for the Palist to work upon. Sometimes the beauties of a city or the glory of the reigning king were extolled with all the author's resources of prosody and imagery. But scholarship in Burma has not produced poets worthy to rank with those of Ceylon.

The following pages are but a sketch, and perhaps a sketch *without colour*. Our purpose is not to describe again the outward aspect of the temple, the monastery, and the village, very vividly presented to Western readers by learned and sympathetic writers from Bishop Bigandet onwards. So many Europeans have come under the charm of Burma—of the Burmese people, their life and religion—that there is no need to do more than recall to readers the names of the writers[1] who have made that charm a familiar thing to us. We have chosen for our study the less well-known subject of the Pali books of Burma. The authors were the ancestors and masters of the monks of to-day, through whom we know those old-time scholars and can still see, as it were, a far-off picture of their lives, their schools, and their work.

[1] See the Bibliographies, p. vii.

THE PALI LITERATURE OF BURMA

CHAPTER I

The Classical Pali Literature—Arrival of the Pali Tripiṭaka in Burma

Burma, under which name we may conveniently, if not quite accurately, include Pegu, Arakan, and Martaban, has been the home of Buddhism for many centuries. No Buddhist country has kept the antique faith more sheltered from change. Yet even the chronicles of monasteries and such strictly ecclesiastical works as the Sāsanavaṃsa[1] cannot unfold their quiet tale without a necessary mention of rivalries and wars between these neighbouring states, when the balance went down first on the side of Burma, then of Pegu, when Mongol armies marched on the Burmese capital, or the Burmese king marched into Siam. Rulers changed and the fortunes of the Fraternity with them, but the doctrine and the tradition suffered hardly any alteration, and the countries of Further India developed an intellectual life which was before all the product of Buddhist ideas and the work of Buddhist monks. For Burma the first language of abstract thought was an Indian language; the rational and moral force which, for a large body of the Burmese people, broke down the thraldom of ancient superstitions, was inspired by India. By the predominance of Buddhist influence in Burmese culture Burmese studies belong rightfully to the great field of Indianism.

We must, though the subject has already been fully and admirably treated by others, remind the reader here of the form in which the Buddhist doctrine, enshrined in a canon of scripture, was conveyed to Further India.

The language was Pali, the literary dialect closely allied to Sanskrit. Pali is usually called by the Burmese the *māgadhabhāsā*

[1] See Introduction.

(idiom of Magadha) [1] or *mūlabhāsā* ('the original language'),[2] but this identification of Pali with the spoken dialect of Magadha is now known to be incorrect. It seems needless to add any remarks about the Pali literature, since its capacities have been described and, better still, proved by the authors of scholarly and beautiful translations which everyone nowadays has an opportunity of reading.[3] But a few words on the classical books may be in place.

The Tripiṭaka.

The Tripiṭaka (Pali, *Tipiṭaka*), to use the now familiar Buddhist name for the three great groups of canonical texts, the Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma *piṭakas* ('baskets'), is known in Burma in the Pali recension consecrated in Ceylon.

The Abhidhamma and Sutta Piṭakas.

For some remarks on the last of the three collections, the Abhidhamma, the reader is referred to Chapter IV of this essay. As to the Suttapiṭaka, the first thing we observe on looking into characteristic collections of Pali-Burmese MSS. and books is that of the great Nikāyas claiming to be the word of the Buddha (the Aṅguttara, Majjhima, Dīgha, Saṃyutta, and Khuddaka) the Dīghanikāya is the best known, the most studied, the most frequently to be found.[4] On the reason for this preference we can only risk a guess. The Dīghanikāya, though containing the long (*dīgha*) discourses, is the smallest of the collections and hence the easiest to study. It is a principle of the Burmese to avoid all unnecessary pains

[1] The ancient kingdom of Magadha was the region now called Bihar.

[2] The late lamented Professor Pischel (in a valuable paper on fragments of the Buddhist canon found in Chinese Turkestan) speaks of the tradition that the Māgadhī was the language of the first age of the world and spoken by the Buddhas: 'Es ist begreiflich dass man später die Māgadhī mit dem Pāli identifizierte. Dass aber der Pālikanon Spuren eines älteren Māgadhīkanons aufweist is längst erkannt worden' (R. Pischel, Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mai, 1904, p. 807). See also Oldenberg's edition of the Vinayapiṭakam, Introduction, and the Preface to Professor E. Müller's Pali Grammar.

[3] See Bibliography.

[4] This is confirmed by information Mr. Shwe Zan Aung has kindly sent me.

and trouble. Without any disrespect to Burmese Buddhists, it is natural to suppose that they have chosen the shortest task, especially when we remember that the Dīghanikāya contains suttas of great importance.[1] For example, we find there the Brahmajala Suttanta, dealing with the Sixty-two Wrong Views; the Sāmaññaphala, on the Fruits of the Ascetic Life; the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna, on Self-mastery; and, chief of all, the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, on the Buddha's last discourses and death, that is, on the supreme moment in the history of the Order, since it was then that the Buddhist *saṃgha* became the guardian of the departed Master's teaching. On the whole the essential doctrines, as the Burmese Buddhist conceives them, are to be found in this collection and the commentaries.

The Khuddakanikāya calls for a word of notice here. This collection contains among other texts the Dhammapada, the Suttanipāta, and the immortal Jātaka book, which, as might be expected from its character, has become part of the popular as well as the scholarly literature of Burma. Very nearly connected with it is the *Paritta*, a good example of ancient wisdom and piety crystallized into a talisman.

Mahāparittam.

The Paritta or Mahāparitta, a small collection of texts gathered from the Suttapiṭaka, is, to this day, more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other Pali book. The Paritta, learned by heart and recited on appropriate occasions, is to conjure various evils physical and moral. It has naturally come to have the usual value of charms and exorcisms, a value hardly religious in the Buddhist sense of the word. But some of the miscellaneous extracts that make up the collection are of a purely religious and ethical tone. The best example of these is the famous

[1] The Dīghanikāya was chosen by Professor Rhys Davids for his selection of typical suttas translated under the title *Dialogues of Buddha*. The suttas instanced above have also been translated elsewhere. See the useful bibliography by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds, Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1902–3.

Maṅgalasutta[1] of the Suttanipāta, verses in praise of the holy life, uttered by a *devatā* (local divinity), who came to pay homage to the Buddha in the grove of Jetavana.

The use of the Paritta is said to have had the Buddha's sanction.[2] There is an example of this practice (by acknowledged saints) in the well-known legend of Soṇa and Uttara, Aśoka's missionaries to Lower Burma. Their first act on arriving was to vanquish the demon (*yakkhinī*) who spread terror in the land by devouring at their birth all boys born in the king's palace. The victory of the holy men was accomplished by the Paritta.[3] We find another illustration in an interesting little incident related of Jetavana, a Burmese monk and famous teacher of the sixteenth century. When Jetavana believed himself at the point of death he thought of one whom he considered fit to be his successor. At that moment the monk on whom his thoughts were fixed dreamed a strange dream of a dead man, which, on waking, he related to the novice lying near him. A *paritta* was then pronounced by one of the monks to avert any evil foreshadowed by the dream.[4]

In the days of Anorata,[5] the first notable king in authentic Burmese history (who reigned in the eleventh century), we hear of the Paritta turned to a dangerous use. Corrupt and cynical monks proclaimed it an easy means of disembarrassing man's guilty conscience from all wrongdoing even to matricide. But Burmese Buddhism has, on the whole, kept exorcism within the bounds of a superstition, contrary no doubt to the true doctrine, but not grossly transgressing the ethical code of the religion.

Burmese tradition adds to the fifteen ancient texts of the Khuddakanikāya[6] four other works—the Milindapaṇha,[7] the

[1] See Fausböll's edition of the Suttanipāta, p. 45 (P.T.S. edition, 1884; Glossary, 1894), and translation, SBE., vol. x, pt. ii.

[2] See Milindapañha (ed. Trenckner), pp. 150 ff., and Rhys Davids' translation (*Questions of King Milinda*), SBE., xxxv, pp. 213 ff.

[3] See Sās., p. 38. [4] Sās., p. 101. [5] See below, p. 12.

[6] Khuddakapāṭha, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Suttanipāta, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Jātaka, Mahāniddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka.

[7] See above.

Suttasaṅgaha,[1] the Peṭakopadesa,[2] and the Netti or Nettipakaraṇa.[2] This last is studied in Burma for its analysis and explanation of passages from the sacred writings, with which, as the learned editor has said, 'the author possessed a great familiarity.'

We now turn to the Vinaya Piṭaka.

The Vinaya, as known in Burma, is the monastic code handed down by the Theravādin sect in Ceylon, that is, the sect professing the doctrine (*vāda*) of the theras or ancients. The name was assumed by the strictest sect at the time of the celebrated schisms beginning, according to tradition, in the second century after the Buddha's death. The influence of Ceylon on Burma has been, as we shall see, paramount in questions of monastic discipline, and the code drawn up by the ancient Siñhalese theras has been carefully preserved by the Burmese fraternity in the letter and the spirit ever since its arrival in Burma in the eleventh century. A great deal of Vinaya literature, mostly explanatory and sometimes controversial, has grown up round the code from the time of the early commentators to the present day. The important works by Siñhalese authors on this subject formed the base of Burmese studies, and on the other hand orthodoxy in Ceylon has often been reinforced at a later period by teachers and texts from Burma.

The complete Vinaya is rather voluminous,[3] but an epitome of the Discipline in the form of two short metrical texts, the

[1] See the Piṭakatthamain, pp. 12, 13. The Suttasaṅgaha was written at Anurādhapura in Ceylon by a thera whose name is not recorded.

[2] In Buddhist tradition the Peṭakopadesa and Nettipakaraṇa are both ascribed to Mahākaccāyana, the disciple of the Buddha. The Gandhavaṃsa (p. 66) and Piṭakatthamain (p. 13) speak of Kaccāyana, author of the Netti, as chaplain to Caṇḍapajjota of Ujjenī in the Avanti country (see Introduction to the late Professor Hardy's Introduction to the Netti, p. ix, note; also pp. viii and xix). Professor Hardy's conclusion was that the work was composed at an early date, perhaps about the first century of our era, and put into its present form by the commentator Dhammapāla, and that the author's name may have been Kaccāyana, considered by posterity to have been Mahākaccāyana, the disciple of the Buddha. 'He is, however, altogether different from the grammarian Kaccāyana, who likewise was regarded as identical with Mahākaccāyana' (Netti, Introd., p. xxxii). On Caṇḍapajjota see Vinaya, i, 276 ff.

[3] It has been critically edited by H. Oldenberg in five volumes (1879–83).

Mūlasikkhā and Khuddasikkhā, was composed at an early period,[1] and these with the Dvemātikā, consisting of the Bhikkhupātimokkha and Bhikkhunīpātimokkha (the ancient résumé of the code for monks and nuns respectively) and the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī (commentary on the Pāṭimokkha), were recognized as sufficient Vinaya knowledge for those who could not study more.[2] In modern times the above are called the 'Four Smaller Vinayas', and are studied by those who have not time for the complete Vinaya.[3]

In Burmese Pali collections we find no less frequently than the Paritta of the laity the Kammavācā of the Mendicant Order. These texts have a purely ecclesiastical use, though it would be a mistake to call them 'ritual'. The first work of the first Buddhist mission to Burma was undoubtedly to receive into the Saṃgha believers wishing to renounce the world. For those, before they entered on further studies, a knowledge of the sacred word in Pali would probably begin with the formal and rigid language of the Kammavācā, and this association lends a touch of interest to some extremely wearisome matter. First, the formulas of the *pabbajjā* (renunciation) and *upasampadā* (ordination) must have become familiar. Then the ordinary course of monastic life included various ceremonies, each of which had its prescribed form for the presiding theras. The bhikkhus taking part were silent, unless dissenting from what was proposed, but in cases where they had offended, acknowledged transgression of the rules aloud.

The Kammavācā cannot, of course, be called literature, but it must be noticed as a text representing the immovable tradition of old days in Burma. The ceremonies of admission to the Saṃgha and so forth have continued to modern

[1] They were written in Ceylon. See Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue of Siñhalese MSS. in the British Museum*, Introduction.

[2] Professor Barnett has pointed out to me that the compilation most recently re-edited in Burma (by Hsaya Û Pye) as Dvemātikā contains the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunīpātimokkha, the Kammākammavinicchaya, extracts from the Parivāra and other Vinaya texts, and a Pāṭimokkhuddesa, Burmese notes on the Pāṭimokkha.

[3] I owe this information to Mr. Shwe Zan Aung's kindness.

times, accompanied by the ancient formulas; and in the history of the Order we find that some lively movements in literature and one most important mission to Ceylon were due to ceremonial questions, particularly the question of consecrating boundaries (*sīmā*).[1] For this last was a formality on which the validity of ordination and thence the 'legitimate descent' of teachers depended, and such consecration has always been considered in Burma of great importance to religion and the religious reputation of a region or community.

In all these texts we find the same conventional character and monotonous repetition.[2] Even the MSS. in which the Kammavācās are handed down suit the texts. The thick, square lettering, pompous and decorative, the shining lacquer, and heavily gilded, silvered, or ivory-plated leaves, bear a likeness to church-property wherever found. Yet we should not forget that they are the texts of a religion that has known neither altar nor sacrifice, and if in Burma the system has developed clerics and a hierarchy, it has never had a privileged priesthood.

The Vinaya has led to mention of

The Commentaries.—The Burmese tradition as to the great commentators follows the Siñhalese, which places Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla, Buddhadatta, Ñāṇagambhīra, Kassapa, and Ānanda in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D.[3] The earliest *aṭṭhakathās* (commentaries) and *ṭīkās* (sub-commentaries or glosses) on the three *piṭakas* are associated with these names. Equally famous and authoritative is the compendium of doctrine known as the Visuddhimagga ('Path of Purity') by Buddhaghosa. As for the familiar story of Buddhaghosa's career,[4] the Burmese adhere closely to the Siñhalese version, but though the scene of this almost incredibly prolific

[1] The boundaries in question mark the enclosure within which ceremonies such as ordination can be properly performed. The observance of these bounds is very strict, and a ceremony carried out in a place unfitted for consecration is not valid.

[2] 'As in law-books all the world over,' says Professor Rhys Davids, who has, in his wide experience, plumbed the depths of Vinaya and law both.

[3] Sās., pp. 33, 34; Pitakatthamain, pp. 21 ff.

[4] See the article on Buddhaghosa by T. Foulkes, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xix, pp. 105–22.

writer's great commenting feats is always considered to be Ceylon, he has been gravely claimed by the Talaings as a native of Thatōn.[1]

Dhammapāla[2] wrote at Kañcipura (Conjeveram) in the Dekkhan, the region with which, according to their ancient records, the Talaings kept up active communication. Knowledge of Buddhist texts in Lower Burma was derived, Forchhammer thinks, from Dhammapāla's country.[3] We do not know of any works written in the Talaing country itself during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, a period of great literary activity in Ceylon and South India.

Most of the well-known *ṭīkās* were written in Ceylon,[4] and works such as the commentary on the Nettipakaraṇa and another entitled Saccasaṅkhepa ('Compendium of the Truth').[5] Better known, perhaps, than any other in Burma is the twelfth century compendium of the Abhidhamma known as the Abhidhammatthasangaha, also of Siṅhalese origin. These old exegetical books, which we shall find again and again in our progress through Burmese literature, must be known at least by name before we can discuss the work of the scholars of Burma.

Some obscurity hangs over the beginnings of Buddhist culture in Further India. According to a well-established tradition Indian Buddhism moved from the south coast—that is, from the region called in the ancient chronicles Suvaṇṇabhumi—northwards, while some archæological and linguistic evidence allows us to suppose that it also found its way through the mountain passes of the North.[6] But it was certainly not

[1] Modern Burmese scholars have abandoned this belief. See Foulkes' 'Buddhaghosa' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xix, pp. 113, 114).

[2] Gandhavaṃsa, pp. 60, 69; Forchhammer, *List*, pp. vi, vii.

[3] Forchhammer, *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 27.

[4] Sās., p. 33. *Vide* Minayeff, *Recherches*, pp. 273, 274. The *ṭīkās* are sometimes mentioned in Burmese lists under collective titles. The most important *ṭīkās* of Dhammapāla are known as the Līnatthappakāsanī (see GV., pp. 60, 69). Pitakatthamain, pp. 32, 33.

[5] Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 25. See also SVD. (Sāsanavaṃsadīpa), verses 1194 and 1220.

[6] See Taw Sein Ko, 'The Origin of the Burmese Race' (*Buddhism*, vol. i, No. 3, p. 445); also 'Preliminary Study of the PO U Daung Inscription' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii, p. 7); Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 3, 4, 14; R. C.

in the upper valley of the Irrawaddy that the Pali literature of Burma had its origin. This gift the Burmese owe to their more advanced neighbours, the Talaings of Rāmaññadesa, now called Lower Burma.

The origin and history of the Mōn or Talaing people, who were to be (unwillingly as it happened) the messengers of the purer Buddhism, need not be discussed here.[1] The point from which we start is their acceptance of Buddhist teaching from India and the rise of a body of learned monks in Rāmaññā who preserved the ancient Doctrine and Discipline and conveyed them to Upper Burma, where both had long been forgotten. We say forgotten, for Burmese authors will not admit that they were new-comers.[2] But the tradition that no less than three out of the nine missions sent out by Aśoka went to Upper Burma in the third century B.C.[3] looks like a piece of the

Temple, 'Notes on Antiquities in Ramannadesa' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii, pp. 37 ff.); A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, pp. 132, 136, 138.

[1] For views of different authorities on this subject see *Reports on the Census of Burma*, 1891 (Eales) and 1901 (Lowin). The Talaing chronicles and inscriptions are rich in material for study, material which we are less and less likely to unearth as time goes on, for this ancient language is fast disappearing from Burma, and students of it are unfortunately very few.

[2] It is certain that the accounts of Burmese chroniclers do not support Forchhammer's belief that there was no Burmese civilization to speak of till the Talaings conquered the upper country. Neither Taw Sein Ko (*Ind. Ant.*, xxiii, p. 258) nor Phayre (*History of Burma*, p. 3) take this view. I have not yet discovered Forchhammer's reason for concluding that there was so great a difference between the two countries, though the southern provinces were more easily accessible from India than Upper Burma.

[3] The well-known names of the regions visited by the missions are carefully displaced by the Burmese, to cover regions in Further India. See Sāsanavaṃsa, Introduction, pp. 3 ff., and note by Dr. Burgess, 'Fabricated Geography' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1901, vol. xxx, p. 387). As an example of the sources from which we may hope to add much to our knowledge see the *Maunggun Gold Plates*, by Tun Nyein, an account of two gold plates found in a brick in the year 1897 at the village of Maunggun in the Prome district. The inscriptions on the plates consist of quotations from the Buddhist scriptures. 'They are in the Pali language, and are written in characters which it is believed were in vogue in the first century A.D., when the kingdom of Prome (Sīrikhettarā) was in the zenith of its power. The alphabet corresponds to a large extent with that used in the inscriptions of Pagan in the fourth and fifth centuries, and several of the letters also resemble those of the South Indian class of alphabets' (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. v, p. 101). The two plates are now in the British Museum.

national pride that is so inventive in these matters, and can only be quoted as an 'uncorroborated legend'.[1]

We must seek a safe starting-point for our history of the Pali literature, and we find it in the eleventh century A.D. At that time the Pali scriptures were introduced to Upper Burma by Talaing teachers. The existence of a strong Buddhist community in the maritime provinces (Rāmaññadesa) long before this date is very probable. It has been supposed that Indian colonies were already flourishing in Talaing territory, from Chittagong to the Straits (Forchhammer), at the time of the Aśokan mission. If so, the early missionaries brought the teaching of Gotama to a country where Indian religion and customs had already made a home, and whether they were opposed or not[2] they could be understood; and in time the doctrine of the Buddha prevailed.

There is no elaborated ancient Pali chronicle for Further India to be compared with the Mahāvaṃsa and Dīpavaṃsa of Ceylon,[3] but there are allusions in these works which throw some light on the religious history of Pegu and Arakan. The Burmese chronicles are of more recent date, and help must be sought from monuments which do not always yield up their secret readily. But we may safely say that events in India and Ceylon greatly affected religion in the maritime provinces (Rāmaññadesa). Refugees from the countries where Buddhism was persecuted or declining, as in India after the eighth century, without doubt strengthened the Buddhist element in

[1] Forbes, *Legendary History of Burma and Arakan*, p. 10. The researches of Forchhammer and other scholars who have followed him in this subject since 1890 have been summed up lately (1908) by Mr. C. C. Lowis in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. He says: "A close study of the inscriptions and native histories has revealed the fact that as the religion, letters, and civilisation of Upper Burma were influenced by Magadha, Nepāl, Tibet, and China, so those of the Talaings of Lower Burma were affected by Ceylon, South India, and Cambodia" (Article 'Burma', in vol. i, p. 28, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, Calcutta, 1908).

[2] 'According to the Talaing legend the Buddhist missionaries on their arrival met with great opposition from the local teachers — probably Brahmins — being denounced and reviled by them as heretics.'—Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 10.

[3] See on these chronicles Dr. Wilhelm Geiger, *The Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa* (translated by Ethel Coomaraswamy), Colombo, 1908.

the Talaing country.[1] Captain Forbes, who follows the Talaing record, says of the early days following the Indian mission: 'Gradually the new doctrines gained ground, pagodas arose, and the faith of Buddha or Gaudama established itself in Thatone, to flourish amid all vicissitudes for over two thousand years to the present day, on the spot where the great Thagya pagoda lifts its worn and ancient head, probably the oldest architectural monument of Buddhism in Burma.'[2]

When a religious reform in the eleventh century drew Ceylon and Burma together Anorata,[3] king of Burma, fresh from vigorous measures against heresy in his own country, agreed with Vijayabāhu, king of Ceylon, on the Pali texts which were to be accepted as representing the true teaching of the Buddha. Afterwards, in the reign of Parākramabāhu I, a council was held (A.D. 1165) in Ceylon to revise this agreement and settle all such questions.[4]

We shall see that from the eleventh century onwards new recruits press into Pali scholarship. And whence? Not only from the Talaing country but from Upper Burma, an advance which was directly due to the action of the strenuous Burmese king. The reforms with which Anorata's name is associated were greatly needed,[5] and had important results.

[1] Sir R. C. Temple pointed out some years ago that 'Suvarṇadvīpa' was the 'headquarters of Buddhism in the East' in the tenth century. He gives a reference to a passage in Sarat Chandra Das' *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, where we find mention of an Indian 'Northern' Buddhist's visit to Chandrakirtti, head of the Order at Suvarṇadvīpa. The visitor was Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atira (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii, p. 358).

[2] Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 10.

[3] The Anawrata of Forbes' History. 'The date of the commencement of his reign is uncertain, as the chronicles differ from each other' (*Legendary History*, p. 221; Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 22). Cf. Duroiselle, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, tome v, p. 150.

[4] Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 132 (*Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde*, vol. iii, pt. viii). The Sāsanavaṃsa (p. 61) says: 'Jinacakke ekasaṭṭhādhīke pañcasate sahasse ca sampatte kaliyuge ekasattatādhike tisate sampatte Anuruddharājā rajjam pāpuṇi.' Anuruddha became king in the year 1571 of religion (lit. of the Buddha cycle) and the year 371 of the kaliyuga (the common era, beginning 638 A.D.).

[5] See Sās., p. 56. The Sāsanavaṃsa agrees in certain details with the Burmese chronicles from which Forbes drew his account, which is as follows: 'It would be difficult to decide what the system of religion that at this time prevailed in Burma can be termed. It was certainly not

A religion[1] which a Buddhist from the South would have scorned to call 'religion' completely possessed the region over which Anorata ruled, and the Burmese king himself, with mistaken piety, supported it in default of a better. A community numbering many thousands of monks with their disciples flourished on the popularity of their debased doctrine, teaching the laity that the worst crimes need bring no retribution if the guilty man recited (or engaged some one to recite) an appropriate *paritta*.[2] The tyranny of these monks went so far as to exact from parents the handing over of either sons or daughters 'to the teacher' before giving them in marriage.[3]

But in course of time a Buddhist from the South was in Anorata's counsels, and a sweeping change was brought about. Arahanta, a Talaing monk from Thatōn (the Sudhammapura of the Pali chronicles), became the king's preceptor and adviser, and used all his great influence to break up the supposed order of *Samaṇas* (ascetics). In spite of the credulity of the people he succeeded, for he had convinced the king. But even when

Brahmanism. The native records state that King Sawlahan built five hollow temples. In each temple was placed an image resembling neither nat nor para. To these, morning and evening, food and spirits were offered, and so they were worshipped and propitiated. The priests or teachers of this religion are called the thirty great Arees and their disciples. Their doctrines are represented as a complete subversion of all moral law. They taught, it is said, whosoever shall commit murder he is freed from his sins by repeating a prayer or invocation; whosoever shall kill his parents, by repeating a prayer he is freed from the punishment due to the five greatest sins. These teachers also were addicted to the practice of gross immorality.' (Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 22; see also Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 33.)

[1] A form of Nāga-worship, according to Burmese histories, had already prevailed for some five centuries in Pagan before Anorata's accession, while 'Buddhism itself had been corrupted by the Tantric system, which is a mixture of magic, witchcraft, and Siva-worship; and this Tantric Buddhism apparently percolated into Burma through Bengal, Assam, and Manipur, and allied itself with the northern school prevailing at Pagan' (Taw Sein Ko, 'Introduction of Buddhism into Burma': *Buddhism*, vol. i, No. 4, p. 589). The statements of the Burmese histories are a help, but the chronology needs careful sifting.

[2] See above.

[3] The Sāsanavaṃsa gives no further explanation. The mention of sons as well as daughters prevents our concluding the custom mentioned to be that prevailing in Cambodia, where marriageable virgins were yielded up to a *bonze* before the marriage ceremony (see article by P. Pelliot, 'Mémoires sur les Coutumes du Cambodge': *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, tome ii, p. 153).

the communities were dissolved and the 'false Samaṇas'[1] reduced to the state of 'ownerless dogs', confusion, heresy, and ignorance still reigned in the land, and Arahanta pointed earnestly to the only means of putting religion beyond all danger.

The true doctrine must be obtained and guarded (he preached) with the sacred texts. They were not to be had in Burma, but existed in abundance at Sudhammapura, besides relics of the Buddha. Anorata was full of faith, and he was not a man to believe passively. He sent an embassy to the Talaing king reigning at Thatōn, Manohari, to ask, as a believer having the right to ask, for relics and copies of the scriptures.

But Manohari was, or chose to appear, too strict a Buddhist to allow holy relics and texts to go to a country with the indifferent religious reputation that disgraced Burma. He refused Anorata's request, and refused in wounding and contemptuous terms.[2] The King of Burma, outraged and furious, descended the Irrawaddy with his armies and laid siege to Sudhammapura. In the year 1058 the Talaing capital fell before the besiegers. Spoils and prisoners, among whom were Manohari and a number of learned monks, were carried off to Pagan. Anorata's end was gained and the Pali *Tipiṭaka* came to Burma.

[1] Pali, Samaṇakuttakā.

[2] Sās., Introduction, p. 18.

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CHAPTER II

The Rise of Pali Scholarship in Upper Burma—The Saddanīti—Chapaṭa and the Sīhalasangha—Learning at Pagan (Arimaddana) in the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries

Though the Burmese began their literary history by borrowing from their conquered neighbours, the Talaings—and not before the eleventh century—the growth of Pali scholarship among them was so rapid that the epoch following close on this tardy beginning is considered one of the best that Burma has seen. The works then produced supplied the material or afforded the favourite models for much of the Pali-Burmese literature of later times.

The causes of this speedy maturity are easy to trace. Rāmaññā was conquered. Relics, books, and teachers had been forcibly carried to Burma. Instead of suffering by transplation the religion of the Buddha seems to have flourished more vigorously in its new centre. The Burmese king had conveyed the whole state and dignity of the conquered Sudhammapura to his own capital, and even his captive Manohari helped to add to the religious splendour of Pagan.[1] About Manohari a curious little legend is related,[2] perhaps to show that his religion needed purifying, notwithstanding that he had scorned the Burmese as heretics. It is said that he possessed a magical power by which fire issued from his mouth when he spoke. Thus, whenever he came to pay a vassal's duty to Anorata, the flames burst forth, to the great terror of his liege, who anxiously applied a religious cure to the dreadful prodigy. Food was taken from a holy shrine, and after due homage it was given to Manohari to

[1] Called Arimaddana in the Pali chronicles. A temple exists at Myin Pagan, 2 miles south of Pagan, built by Manohari (or Manuha) in 1059 A.D. See Taw Sein Ko in *Archæological Survey of Burma* (quoted in *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française*, tome iii, p. 677).

[2] Sās., p. 64.

eat. The flames appeared no more. Manohari, filled with awe at the loss of his magical attribute, sold one of his royal gems and devoted the price to two great images of the Buddha, which are said to exist to the present day.[1]

Anorata, mindful of Arahanta's counsels, was, above all, eager to enrich his city with the sacred texts. Those brought from Thatōn had been stored in a splendid pavilion [2] and placed at the disposal of the Sangha for study. Not content with his large spoils, the king sent to Ceylon for more copies of the *Tipiṭaka*, which Arahanta afterwards examined and compared with the Thatōn collection.[3] So the ground was prepared for the harvest that soon followed. Anorata did not live to see the firstfruits of his husbandry,[4] but, if we can accept the date of the Piṭakatthamain, the first essay of a Burmese author in Pali scholarship was made in the year 1064 A.D., during the reign of Kyansitthā, a son of Anorata.[5]

Kyansitthā was the founder of the celebrated Nanda [6] or Ānanda temple and vihāra (monastery) at Pagan. The legend goes that the temple was designed from a vision of the Nandamula cave in the Himalaya granted to the king by eight saints of that region, who journeyed through the air daily to receive Kyansitthā's hospitality. These miraculous visits are of smaller interest to us than another, less sensational tradition of the holy place. At this monastery Dhammasenāpati

[1] Sās., p. 64.

[2] Pali, *Ratanamaye pāsāde* (Sās., p. 63). The libraries of the ancient monasteries were mostly buildings apart.

[3] Sās., p. 64. The Siñhalese chronicles say that a common canon for Burma and Ceylon was arranged by Anorata and Vijayabāhu the Great (see appendix to Mr. Nevill's manuscript catalogue of his collection, made in Ceylon and now at the British Museum).

[4] M. Duroiselle mentions inscriptions which establish 1059 A.D. as the year of Anorata's death ('Notes sur la Géographie apocryphe de la Birmanie': *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française*, tome v, p. 150).

[5] Some religious foundations of Kyansitthā are dated 1059 A.D. (*Bulletin*, tome iii, p. 676). His Pali name is Chattaguhinda (Sās., p. 75; Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 23; Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 39, 281; Piṭakatthamain, p. 68). M. Duroiselle expresses some doubt as to the exactness of Phayre's dates for the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

[6] Described in Sir Henry Yule's *Mission to the Court of Ava*, p. 36, and Craufurd's *Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava*, p. 114.

wrote the Kārikā, a grammatical work, in Pali.[1] This modest little metrical treatise has lived bravely through some eight centuries and was last republished a few years ago.

Dhammasenāpati composed two other works, the Etimāsamidīpanī (or Etimāsamidīpikā) and the Manohāra.[2] Beyond the bare mention of these last two titles, and the statement that the author wrote the Kārikā at the request of the monk Ñāṇagambhīra, the Gandhavaṃsa leaves us without information. Ñāṇagambhīra of Pagan is perhaps the thera mentioned in the Piṭakatthamain as the author of the religious work Tathāgatuppatti.

During the reigns of Anorata's immediate successors learning took firm root at Pagan, and in the year 1154 the monk Aggavaṃsa completed the Saddanīti, a grammar of the *Tipiṭaka*, described as 'the most comprehensive in existence'.[3] It established the reputation of Burmese scholarship in that age and the fame of the author to the present day, for the Saddanīti is still republished in Burma as a classic. It consists of aphorisms on Pali grammar divided into twenty-five *pariccheda*s or sections. It is very interesting to see that in the second part of the work, the Dhātumālā ('Garland of Roots'), the grammarian gives the Sanskrit equivalents of the Pali forms.

Aggavaṃsa was tutor to King Narapatisithu (A.D. 1167–1202), a powerful and peaceable monarch, whose reign was the most prosperous epoch in the history of the kingdom of Pagan.[4] According to the Gandhavaṃsa, Aggavaṃsa was of Jambudīpa

[1] GV., pp. 63, 73. Dhammasenāpati is called an *ācariya* (teacher) in Gandhavaṃsa, but in Forchhammer's *List* the author of Kārikā and Kārikāṭīkā is put down as a Burmese nobleman of Pagan bearing the honorary title of Dhammasenāpati. It is likely that he was known as a man of rank and importance before he entered the Order, and perhaps he threw himself into serious studies while still a layman. We shall find such cases later.

The Gandhavaṃsa (pp. 64, 73) is my only authority here. The curious title Etimāsamidīpanī appears to have no meaning whatever and may be wrongly copied (perhaps for Ehimāyasaṃdīpanī).

[3] C. Duroiselle, *Bulletin*, tome v, p. 147, note. The Sāsanavaṃsa mentions another learned monk of Pagan, sometimes called Aggapaṇḍita and sometimes Aggavaṃsa, with whom our author might be confused. Aggapaṇḍita, who lived in the thirteenth century, wrote the Lokuppattipakāsanī (see Piṭakatthamain, pp. 60, 66).

[4] Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 24.

(strictly meaning India, but with Burmese writers often Burma).[1] Forchhammer mentions him among the famous residents in the retired monastery on the northern plateau above Pagan, 'the cradle of Pali-Burmese literature.'[2]

The Saddanīti was the first return gift of Burma to Ceylon. A few years after its completion the thera ('elder') Uttarājīva left Pagan and crossed the sea to visit the celebrated Mahāvihāra,[3] taking with him a copy of the Saddanīti, which was received with enthusiastic admiration, and declared superior to any work of the kind written by Siūhalese scholars.

Uttarājīva was accompanied by his pupil the novice Chapaṭa,[4] whose name was destined to eclipse, for a time at least, even that of Aggavaṃsa. He received ordination from the Sangha in Ceylon, and lived in its midst for some years, ardently studying the doctrine as handed down in the Mahāvihāra, and, we may suppose, mastering many ancient texts of high authority which had not yet found their way to Burma. His talents and forcible personality were just the other elements needed to make his stay in the sacred island important for the literary history of Burma.

The works usually ascribed to Saddhammajotipāla, otherwise Chapaṭa, represent the second stage in the monastic scholarship of his time and country.

The Suttaniddesa or Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa is a grammatical treatise explaining the 'sūtras' (aphorisms) of the Indian grammarian Kaccāyana.[5] Forchhammer[6] mentions the Suttaniddesa as a work, originally ascribed to Kaccāyana, introduced

[1] GV., pp. 67, 72; see also SVD, verse 1238; Fausböll, *Cat. Ind. MSS.*, p. 49.

[2] Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2.

[3] This famous and ancient monastery is said to have been founded by the King of Ceylon, Devānampiya-Tissa, for the thera Mahinda, Aśoka's son.

[4] Or Chapada, so called after the village where he was born, near Bassein (Pali, Kusimanagara). In religion his name was Saddhammajotipāla (Sās., p. 74).

[5] For Kaccāyana see the edition of E. Senart, Paris, 1871; for MSS. consult Fausböll's *Catalogue of Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library*, pp. 45–8; cf. Forchhammer, *List*, pp. xx, xxi. For editions produced in Burma and Ceylon see *British Museum Catalogue of Sanskrit and Pali Printed Books*, 1892–1906.

[6] *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 34.

by Chapaṭa into Burma. The Sāsanavaṃsa, Gandhavaṃsa, and Sāsanavaṃsadīpa give Chapaṭa as the author, and say that he wrote at Arimaddana (Pagan).[1] The Gandhavaṃsa adds that he composed the Suttaniddesa 'at the request of' his pupil Dhammacāri.

His other well-known work is the Sankhepavaṇṇanā. According to Forchhammer's sources[2] Chapaṭa introduced the Sankhepavaṇṇanā from Ceylon and transcribed it from the Siñhalese into the Burmese-Talaing alphabet, but the Sāsanavaṃsa, Sāsanavaṃsadīpa, and Gandhavaṃsa state that he composed it. According to the Gandhavaṃsa it was the only one of his eight works that was written in Ceylon. As to the basis of this work, it appears, from the title given in the MSS., to be a commentary on the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, then recently written by a Siñhalese thera, Anuruddha. In arrangement the Sankhepavaṇṇanā follows the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, being divided into nine *pariccheda*s.[3]

The Sīmālaṅkāra or Sīmālaṅkāraṭīkā, a treatise on boundaries and sites for religious ceremonies, is a commentary on a work by the Siñhalese thera Vācissara.[4] Another work on monastic topics is the Vinayasamuṭṭhānadīpanī, written, as the favourite formula has it, 'at the request of' Chapaṭa's preceptor.[5] The Vinayagūḷhatthadīpanī, again, is an explanation of difficult passages in the Vinayapiṭaka.[6] The Nāmacāradīpanī ('on ethics,' according to Forchhammer, but classed by the Piṭakatthamain as 'Abhidhamma') may be of Chapaṭa's composition. It was, at all events, introduced by him into Burma.[7]

The Gandhisāra or Gaṇṭhisāra[8] is evidently an anthology or manual for study condensed from important texts. The

[1] Sās., p. 74; GV., pp. 64, 74; Sāsanavaṃsadīpa, verses 1247-8; cf. Piṭakatthamain, p. 66.
[2] *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 35.
[3] Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office*, JPTS., 1882, p. 85; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, JPTS., 1896, p. 39. The Piṭakatthamain mentions Sankhepavaṇṇanā under the heading Abhidhamma (P.TH., p. 50).
[4] Piṭakatthamain, pp. 43, 49; GV., p. 62; SVD., verses 12, 13.
[5] GV., pp. 64, 74.
[6] P.TH., p. 44.
[7] Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 35; P.TH., p. 45.
[8] Gaṇḍhisāra in the Gandhavaṃsa, p. 74.

remaining works ascribed to Chapaṭa, the Mātikatthadīpanī and Paṭṭhānaganṇānaya, treat of Abhidhamma subjects.[1]

It would be rash to say, without careful comparison of the literature of the two countries, that, even at that early period, the Burmese Sangha showed a keener interest in the Abhidhamma than the Siñhalese, but this was certainly the case later.[2] The school or sect founded by Chapaṭa and known as the Sīhaḷasaṅgha (or Ceylon sangha) of Burma was probably absorbed in monastic questions. For Chapaṭa had returned to Pagan, a missionary of Siñhalese orthodoxy. Deeply imbued with the belief that the Mahāvihāra alone had kept the legitimate 'line of descent'[3] unbroken from teacher to teacher, and that valid ordination could only be received in Ceylon, he wished to confer the *upasampadā* on the Pagan brethren who, never having visited the sacred precincts, were still outside the pale. To fulfil all conditions required by the Vinaya he brought with him four companions[4] qualified like himself. The little group was to be the nucleus of the new Order in Burma, the rightful heirs of the one tradition.

But this claim was stoutly opposed in some of the monasteries of Pagan. The traditions of the South country and of Anorata's great Talaing teacher were still flourishing. Arahanta, it was claimed, had been in the 'direct line' from the ancient missionaries Soṇa and Uttara; his disciples had been qualified to receive and hand on the *upasampadā*, and the Mahāvihāra itself could confer no better title. The older community therefore declined to be drawn into Chapaṭa's fold, and he, having the then reigning king on his side, was powerful enough to make them appear the seceders, while his followers refused all

[1] The Piṭakatthamain (p. 37) mentions another, the Visuddhimaggagaṇṭhi, on difficult passages in Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga.

[2] An observation to this effect is made by Mr. Nevill, whose information was supplied, for the most part, by Siñhalese monks well versed in the Pali literature of their country.

[3] This line is established by the learning of 'right doctrine', from the teacher and director chosen by the novice; the teacher must be duly ordained and himself a pupil of another such, and so on in direct ascent to one of the disciples of the Buddha.

[4] Rāhula, Ānanda, Sīvali, and Tāmalinda (Sās., p. 65). Five was the smallest number of which a Chapter (for acts of the Sangha) could consist, according to the Vinaya.

association with them in ceremonies.[1] But King Narapatisithu was a Buddhist of the old magnificent school, and though he believed devoutly in Mahāvihāra orthodoxy, he neither persecuted nor neglected the communities that denied it. The ruins of old Pagan still witness to his bounty towards the different Sanghas,[2] of which the Arahanta sect (called, to distinguish it from Chapaṭa's Ceylon school, the Mramma or Burma Sangha) was the most important. Names of grammarians follow close on one another at this period. Schisms had indeed arisen, but the time had not yet come for works of *polemik*, and the good monks of Pagan were busy enriching the new store of learning in the country. In the work of Saddhammasiri, the author of the grammatical treatise Saddatthabhedacintā,[3] we catch a glimpse of a culture that recalls Aggavaṃsa. Saddhammasiri's grammar is based partly on Kaccāyana's Pali aphorisms and partly on Sanskrit authorities. The Sāsanavaṃsa tells us that Saddhammasiri also translated the Brihaja (?) into the Burmese language.[4] He was probably among the first to use Burmese as a literary instrument.[5] If the work mentioned is the astrological Brīhajjātaka[6] it could not have put a great strain on the resources of the Burmese idiom (even before the immense body of Pali words added later had come to the aid of the vernacular), so the feat was not a surprising one. But the thera's knowledge of Sanskrit is an interesting point. It is

[1] See the Kalyāṇi inscriptions (edited by Taw Sein Ko), *Ind. Ant.*, vols. xxii and xxiii.

[2] 'Fraternities from Ceylon, from the conquered Haṃsāvati, from Siam, Camboja, and probably Nepal and China, sojourned in Pagan.'—Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2.

[3] GV., pp. 62, 72; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 47, 48; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xix.

[4] Sās., p. 75: 'So yeva thera Brīhajam nāma Vedasattham pi marammabhāsāya parivattesi.' Cf. Pitakatthamain, p. 68.

[5] M. Duroiselle mentions inscriptions in Burmese of the tenth and eleventh centuries, containing words of Sanskrit derivation, and he expresses the belief that Sanskrit was known in Burma before Pali, which, so shortly after its importation from Thatōn (at the epoch of the inscriptions), 'n'était connu que de l'élite des moines' (*Bulletin*, tome v, p. 154).

[6] Of Varāha-Mihira; see Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., pp. 277, 278.

curious, too, to find him busied with one of the Brahmanic works known as 'Vedas' in Burma.[1]

Another grammatical work of some importance is the commentary generally known as Nyāsa, but sometimes as Mukhamattadīpanī, on the Kaccāyanayoga. The author was *Vimalabuddhi*,[2] who is claimed by the Sāsanavaṃsa as a thera of Pagan, but is said by some authorities to be of Ceylon. A ṭīkā or gloss on the Nyāsa was written by Vimalabuddhi,[3] to whom an Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṭīkā is also ascribed.[4]

The Nyāsa was glossed by another commentator in the reign of Narapatisithu. The scholiast this time was a man of high rank who addressed himself to the task for love of one of the king's daughters. At least, the story, as related by the Sāsanavaṃsa, is that Narapati, knowing this nobleman to be violently in love with one of the princesses, promised him her hand on condition that he should produce a work of profound learning.[5] He undertook a scholium on the Nyāsa. The Sāsanavaṃsa does not make it clear whether he was an official at the Court first and entered the Order on purpose to write his book, or whether he was already of the Order when he fell in love. We are only told that when he 'returned to the lay life' the king conferred on him the title *rājjuggāhāmacca*. The Burmese title by which his work is sometimes mentioned is Thanbyin.[6]

A treatise entitled Lokuppatti by Aggapaṇḍita[7] was written at Pagan. The author was a native of Burma. He was

[1] For this term applied to the miscellaneous learning of Brahman immigrants to Burma, see below, Chapter IV.

[2] Called Mahā-Vimalabuddhi to distinguish him from a later writer (Sās., p. 75; P.TH., p. 63; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 47, 48).

[3] GV., pp. 63, 73. [4] See SVD., verse 1223.

[5] It seems that the king's request was not out of the way, for the nobleman was a learned grammarian according to the SVD., verse 1240, where it is said that the Nyāsappadīpaṭīkā was written 'ekena amaccena saddatthanayaññunā'. Cf. P.TH., p. 64. There is a ṭīkā called Nyāsappadīpa (incomplete) at the India Office. The author's name is missing. See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 48.

[6] Sās., p. 75; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii. *Thanbyin* (*rājjuggāhāmacca*) was a title given to revenue officers, nearly corresponding to the *thugyī* of modern times. See *Inscriptions of Pagān, Pinya, and Ava*, p. 128, note.

[7] GV., pp. 64, 67; Sās., p. 74; P.TH., p. 60.

apparently one of the few Palists of his time who was not chiefly devoted to the study of the language.

The Gandhavaṃsa mentions a grammar, Lingatthavivaraṇa *by Subhūtacandana, who was followed by* Ñāṇasāgara with *Lingatthavivaraṇappakāsaka* and Uttama with *Lingatthavivaraṇaṭīkā*. These three doctors were all of Pagan.[1] A Lingatthavivaraṇavinicchaya,[2] by an author whose name is not mentioned, is apparently based on Subhūtacandana's treatise, or explains difficult passages in it. Uttama, the author of the Lingatthavivaraṇaṭīkā,[3] also wrote a scholium on Bālāvatāra, the well-known grammar by Vācissara of Ceylon.[4]

Another of the Pagan grammarians, whose work has been studied for centuries and republished in recent times, was Dhammadassi, a novice (*sāmaṇera*) in the Order[5] when he composed his well-known treatise Vācavācaka or Vaccavācaka. A commentary on it was written by Saddhammanandi.[6]

From the Saddatthabhedacintā of Saddhammasiri sprang a number of commentaries of which the best known is the Mahāṭīkā[7] by the thera Abhaya of Pagan. Abhaya's name reappears as the author of the Sambandhacintaṭīkā,[8] a commentary on the Sambandhacintā of Saṅgharakkhita.[9]

Forchhammer places both Saddhammasiri and Abhaya in the

[1] GV., pp. 63, 67, 72, 73. The P.TH., p. 72, ascribes Lingatthavivaraṇa and the ṭīkā to Saddhammakitti of Sagaing.

[2] GV., pp. 65, 75.

[3] GV., pp. 63, 67; Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii; P.TH., p. 70.

[4] Dhammakitti in Forchhammer's *List*; Vācissara in India Office MS., etc. See *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 46.

[5] Sās., p. 75.

[6] See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50, for commentary and ṭīkās on Vaccavācaka. They are entitled Vaccavācakavaṇṇanā, Vaccavācakaṭīkā, and Vaccavācakadīpani. Saddhammanandi is the only author mentioned. In Forchhammer's *List* (p. xxii) these works appear without names of authors; cf. P.TH., p. 71, according to which the Vaccavācaka was written at Pagan by a thera, 'name unknown,' and the ṭīkā by Saddhammanandi.

[7] GV., pp. 63, 73; Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2; *List*, p. xix. The commentary in the Mandalay Collection at the India Office is called Saddatthabhedacintādīpanī; v. Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50.

[8] Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxi; P.TH., pp. 69, 71.

[9] The Sambandhacintā, on syntactical relation, is probably of the twelfth century. The author was a scholar of Ceylon, better known by his famous Subodhālaṃkāra, on the art of poetry, and the Vuttodaya, on prosody.

fourteenth century.[1] Unfortunately the Sāsanavaṃsa and Gandhavaṃsa, usually careful to give us the birthplace or residence of our authors, rarely give us their exact date. Without a close comparison of the texts one with another, or a minute study of the chronicles of monasteries, we must be content with conjectures as to the order in which the scholars of Pagan should appear in literary history. But we may perhaps venture to place most of those just mentioned in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Before passing on to the later period of Pali literature at Pagan it will be well to look for a moment at the state of the Burmese Sangha, or rather Sanghas.

Narapati's impartial benevolence had secured a peaceful life and means of study for all those who sought them, but it could not prevent discord between the communities; and when Chapaṭa died, his school—the Sīhaḷasaṅgha—split into four factions, each following one of the four theras who had come with Chapaṭa from Ceylon.

The dissensions (for they can hardly be called schisms in the usual sense of the word) that arose within the Sīhaḷasaṅgha, once stronger and more united than the other sects in Pagan, were not, it seems, caused by questions of dogma. At all events, the Sāsanavaṃsa tells us only of the personal reasons for which Rāhula separated himself first from his colleagues and they in their turn parted company.

Rāhula's defection was the gravest matter. The story is that he fell desperately in love with an actress at one of the festivals given by King Narapati. His brother-theras entreated and reasoned with him in vain. Finally, they prayed him to leave the country, and spare his community the scandal of his 'return to the lower life'. He then took ship and went to 'Malayadīpa',[2] and in that country became preceptor to

[1] Forchhammer, *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 36.

[2] Sās., p. 66. The reading chosen by Minayeff in his transcript of the text, and, after some hesitation, by the present writer in editing the Sāsanavaṃsa, was 'Mallarudīpa'. The MS. corrects to Malayadīpa. The episode is interesting. The reading Malaya is confirmed by the Kalyāṇi inscriptions. See Taw Sein Ko, 'Remarks on the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions,' *Ind. Ant.*, xxiv, p. 301. The ancient Malayadeśa (an Indian colony) was in the Malay Peninsula (v. Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, p. 52).

the king, who wished to be instructed in the Vinaya. The end of Rāhula's story is curious. Under him the king studied the Khuddasikkhā[1] and the ṭīkā on the same; afterwards, with the largess that his grateful pupil bestowed on him, the thera abandoned the Order and lived as a layman.

This little history is no doubt told for edification more than for its human interest, like the story of Ānanda, whose transgression, less dramatic than Rāhula's, was also against monastic discipline. Narapati had presented the three theras, Sīvali, Tāmalinda, and Ānanda, each with an elephant. Ānanda, wishing to give his to his relations in Kañcipura, was preparing to ship it from Bassein (Kusimanagara), when the others remonstrated with him, pointing out that they, in a spirit more becoming to followers of the Buddha, had turned their elephants loose in the forest. Ānanda argued that kindness to kinsfolk was also preached by the Master. Neither side would be persuaded, and Ānanda was cut off from the community.

Sīvali and Tāmalinda afterwards disagreed on another question of conduct. Tāmalinda had recommended his disciples to the pious laity for gifts and other marks of consideration, an action of which the Buddha had strongly disapproved.[2] After some useless admonishing, Sīvali refused to have any further intercourse with Tāmalinda, and formed a sect of his own. This very simple account of the origin of the four factions in the Sīhaḷasaṅgha is not quite satisfying, but as an example of monastic traditions in Burma it has a certain interest. Besides, even such fragments of the personal history of theras sometimes give us a glimpse into the course of studies and scholarship in their day.

In the meantime, as our list of authors shows, literary work went on at Pagan. After Narapati, the next keen patron of

[1] A compendium of the Vinaya written in Ceylon, edited by Professor E. Müller (JPTS., 1883). Ṭīkās on this text were composed by Revata and Saṅgharakkhita, both of Ceylon (*vide* P.TH., p. 48).

[2] Sās., p. 67. It is here called by a technical name, *vacīviññatti*. For pronouncements in the Vinaya on this subject, see Vinaya, v, p. 125 (Oldenberg's edition), and compare iii, pp. 227, 256, etc.

learning was Kyocvā or Kya-swa.[1] The works produced under his auspices were chiefly grammatical, but the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha was also one of the principal subjects of study.[2] We should expect to hear that the students of Pali grammar were chiefly monks, eager not only to understand the ancient texts thoroughly, but to master the classic language, in order to compose in it themselves. But grammatical knowledge was by no means limited to the monasteries. We have already heard of the learning of Narapati's minister. In the time of Kyocvā, too, there were grammarians at the king's court.[3] Indeed, Kyocvā is said to have insisted on general diligence around him, while he himself set the example by writing the Saddabindu and Paramatthabindu, both grammatical works.[4] A little work on Pali cases, entitled Vibhattyattha, is ascribed to his daughter.[5]

The Mukhamattasāra,[6] another grammatical work of this epoch, was written by Sāgara, called Guṇasāgara in the Gandhavaṃsa,[7] which states that Sāgara wrote a ṭīkā on his own work, at the request of the Saṅgharājā (Head of the whole Order), who was King Kyocvā's preceptor.

[1] Kyaswa succeeded Jeyyasinkha A.D. 1227 (Phayre), or A.D. 1234 (Barnett). Pagan is described in a florid thirteenth-century poem, the Manavulu-Sandesaya, written in Ceylon, ed. L. D. Barnett (JRAS., April, 1905, p. 265).

[2] For an example of studies, see the pathetic little story of the monk Disāpāmokkha, who pursued knowledge so fervently in his old age (beginning with Kaccāyana and the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha) that in time he astonished the chief theras by his learning, and was chosen by the King to be his *ācariya* (Sās., p. 77).

[3] Pali grammar was a popular study at that time even among women and young girls. A quaint and interesting passage in the Sāsanavaṃsa, reproduced by Minayeff in the *Recherches* (Sās., p. 78; *Recherches*, p. 69), describes how busy mothers of families in Arimaddana (Pagan) snatched time to learn.

[4] Saddabindu is ascribed to Kyaswa, and dated 1234 in the Pitakatthamain, pp. 45, 70. See also GV., pp. 64, 73; Sās., p. 76. Saddabindu has been ascribed to Kyocvā's preceptor. A commentary entitled Linatthavisodhanī was written by Nāṇavilāsa of Pagan (Nevill). The ṭīkā on Saddabindu, called Saddabinduvinicchaya, in the India Office, is by Sirisaddhammakittimahāphussadeva (*vide* Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50). A ṭīkā on Paramatthabindu was written at Pagan by the thera Mahākassapa (Pitakatthamain, p. 51).

[5] Sās., p. 77 (see Preface to Subhūti's edition of the Abhidhānappadīpikā, 2nd ed., Colombo, 1883).

[6] Sās., p. 76; GV., pp. 63, 67, 73.

[7] Guṇasara in Forchhammer's *List*, p. xxiii.

A Vibhatyattha was written, probably at Pagan, by the thera Saddhammañāṇa early in the fourteenth century.[1] Saddhammañāṇa was the author of a more important work on metrics, the Chandosāratthavikāsinī[2] (or Vuttodayapañcikā, being a commentary on Vuttodaya),[3] and the Chapaccayadīpanī, also on prosody.[4] Saddhammañāṇa was not only a Palist, but a Sanskrit scholar, and translated the Sanskrit grammar Kātantra (Kalāpa) into Pali.[5]

The Gandhatthi, by Maṅgala, is a grammatical work, probably of the fourteenth century, and written at Pagan. At a somewhat later period, but also at Pagan, Sirisaddhammavilāsa composed a Kaccāyana ṭīkā, entitled Saddhammanāsinī.[6]

So far, the production of learned works in the communities of Burma seems to have gone on steadily, in spite of sectarian differences, which, after all, would affect grammarians less than experts in the Vinaya. But a change had come over the fortunes of the Order in the thirteenth century. The Pagan dynasty fell in 1277[7] under the assaults of Mongol invaders from the north, while nearly at the same time a successful revolt in the south completed the overthrow of the Burmese power. Shān rulers established their capital at Myinzaing (Khandhapura in Pali), and the glory of Pagan, where the very temples had been torn down to fortify the city against the enemy, was never restored.

The Sāsanavaṃsa tells us that many monks settled at Myinzaing, but no books were written there.

[1] Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 36 ; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50.

[2] Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2 ; *Essay*, p. 36 ; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 51, 52 ; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii ; Pitakatthamain, p. 74.

[3] Vuttodaya, a twelfth-century work by Saṅgharakkhita, written in Ceylon ; published by Fryer in JAS. Bengal, 1877.

[4] Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 36.

[5] For remarks on the Kātantra of Śarvavarman and the connection between this system and that of Kaccāyana, see Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., p. 243, and Kuhn.

[6] Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2, and *List*, p. xx. The MS. of Sirisaddhammavilāsa's work in the Mandalay collection is called Kaccāyanasāra Ṭīkā (Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 48). The Kaccāyanasāra was composed in the Talaing country (see below, pp. 36, 37).

[7] Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 25 ; Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 51, 53, 54 ; Colonel Burney's translations from Rājavaṃsa, JAS. Bengal, vol. iv, pp. 400 ff.

In 1312 a Shān king Sīhasūra founded Panyā (Pali, Vijayapura), where, with a new era of peace and safety for the Order, came a revival of literary activity. In Sīhasūra's reign Sirimaṅgala or Sirisumaṅgala, one of the most diligent of his fraternity, busied himself with commentaries explaining the grammatical construction of the Samantapāsādikā (Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya) and the Abhidhamma commentaries, also ascribed to Buddhaghosa, Atthasālinī, and Sammohavinodanī.[1] This is a good example of reviving monastic industry in that day. And it is quite curious to see in the new court and under the new dynasty a return to the traditions of Narapati and Kyaswa. An important officer of state (a *caturaṅgabalāmacca*, to give him his Pali title) under King Kittisīhasūra[2] wrote a *samvaṇṇanā* (commentary) on Moggallāna's well-known Pali dictionary, the Abhidhānappadīpikā.[3] The same official wrote ṭīkās on the Koladdhaja at the request of the thera Pāsādika, and on the Daṇḍīppakaraṇa.[4]

Another essay on Pali grammar, written at Panyā under Kittisīhasūra's patronage, was the much-studied Saddasārattha-jālinī (or Jālinī) of Nāgita, otherwise Khaṇṭakakhipa, a monk of Sagu.[5]

A ṭīkā on the Vuttodaya of Saṅgharakkhita[6] was written (at Pagan according to Forchhammer,[7] at Panyā according to the Gandhavaṃsa[8]) by Navavimalabuddhi, otherwise Culla-

[1] P.TH., p. 40.

[2] Came to the throne A.D. 1351 (Kyoaswa IV in Phayre's *History of Burma*, pp. 60, 282); Sās., p. 88.

[3] See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 46, 51.

[4] GV., pp. 63, 73; Sās., p. 88. The titles last mentioned do not suggest grammar or Buddhist doctrine, but other branches of learning—astrology and poetics. (See Appendix.)

[5] The quaint nickname Khaṇṭakakhipa came from a little adventure of Nāgita's boyhood, when he was not more serious than most boys. He was so unwilling to be taken to the monastery, and resisted so obstinately, that his father lost patience with him, and threw him bodily into a thorny bush. See Sās., p. 88; GV., p. 74; SVD., verse 1249; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xx. There is a commentary on this work at the India Office entitled Sāramañjūsā. Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 102.

[6] Sās., pp. 34, 75.

[7] *Report* (Pagan), p. 2; *List*, p. xxiii.

[8] GV., p. 67; the Piṭakatthamain (p. 74) says at Pagan.

Vimalabuddhi, author of a work called Abhidhammapaṇṇarasaṭṭhāna,[1] explaining some passages of the Abhidhamma. In the Gandhavaṃsa a Vuttodaya ṭīkā is ascribed to a Vepullabuddhi of Pagan, who appears again[2] as the author of (*a*) a ṭīkā on Saddasāratthajālinī; (*b*) a Paramatthamañjūsā (metaphysical); (*c*) a ṭīkā on the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, called Dasaganṭhivaṇṇanā (or Dasaganḍhivaṇṇanā); and (*d*) a ṭīkā on Vidadhimukhamaṇḍana.[3]

Another treatise, the Atthabyākkhyāna (exegetical or grammatical), is mentioned as the work of a Culla-Vajirabuddhi on one page of the Gandhavaṃsa, and put down to Culla-Vimalabuddhi in another. Now among the Siñhalese authors enumerated in the Sāsanavaṃsa[4] we find a Nava-Vimalabuddhi, author of an early ṭīkā on the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha and a Cūḷabuddha, author of the Atthabyākkhyāna, whereas the only work allowed by the Sāsanavaṃsa to the Burmese Culla-Vimalabuddhi is the Vuttodaya-ṭīkā, and to Vepulla the Vacanatthajoti.[5]

Possibly the confusion in the Gandhavaṃsa arises from the author's ignoring the Siñhalese thera Vimalabuddhi (carefully mentioned by the Sāsanavaṃsa in a passage referring also to Vimalabuddhi of Pagan). The name is absent from the Gandhavaṃsa list of theras of Ceylon,[6] while the three, Nava-Vajirabuddhi, Vepullabuddhi, and Nava-Vimalabuddhi, are all put down as Jambudīpikā (i.e. belonging to Burma) and their work as composed at Pagan, except in the case of Nava-Vimalabuddhi, who wrote, according to this account, at Panyā.

These small bibliographical puzzles, which we are not willing

[1] GV., pp. 64, 74, not mentioned in the Sāsanavaṃsa

[2] There is an alternative reading, Vimalabuddhi, but the editor (Minayeff), following no doubt the best MSS., has preferred Vepulla in these passages of the Gandhavaṃsa.

[3] Apparently the Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana (on riddles) of Dharmadāsa (see Appendix).

[4] Sās., p. 34.

[5] Sās., p. 75; the Vacanatthajotikā, gloss on Vuttodaya, ascribed to Vepullabuddhi, is probably a fourteenth-century work. Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 36; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 51.

[6] GV., p. 67.

to leave unsolved but must waste much time in solving, result sometimes from the choice of well-known or well-sounding Pali names by theras of different epochs and their pupils, commentators and copyists, sometimes from the renaming of distinguished teachers by their royal admirers. It would be well to have all such details exact, but when dealing with this early period of Pali-Burmese literature it is difficult to avoid confusing Burmese with Siñhalese authors.

The Saddavutti, or Saddavuttipakāsaka, by Saddhammapāla, a grammatical treatise, probably belongs to the fourteenth century.[1] If so, it was written when the great importance of Pagan as a religious centre had declined, though the author is mentioned by Forchhammer as one of those who worked in the famous retreat of the 'Maramma' Fraternity near the old capital. Here also the ṭīkā on the Saddavutti was composed by Sāriputta (also called Sāriputtara).[2] The Sāsanavaṃsa[3] calls the author of Saddavutti, Saddhammaguru, and states that he wrote at Panyā; in the Gandhavaṃsa,[4] however, Saddhammaguru is among the *ācariyas* who wrote at Pagan.

The Niruttisāramañjūsā, a ṭīkā on the Nirutti,[5] ascribed to Kaccāyana, is by a Saddhammaguru,[6] perhaps the author of the Saddavutti.

A grammatical work entitled Sambandhamālinī was, according to the Piṭakatthamain,[7] composed at Pagan. Neither the date nor the author's name is given.

Our list of grammarians does not end even here. But those to be mentioned later belong to the new period beginning with the foundation of Ava (Pali, Ratanapura) by the Burmese

[1] Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 36; P.TH., p. 71.

[2] Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2; *List*, p. xix. A later ṭīkā and a Saddavuttivivaraṇa are mentioned in GV. (pp. 65, 75), without names of authors. The ṭīkā in the India Office collection is by Jāgara. Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50.

[3] Sās., p. 90.

[4] GV., p. 67.

[5] Also called the Niruttipiṭaka, a grammatical treatise. See SVD., verses 1233, 1234.

[6] Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 49.

[7] Piṭakatthamain, p. 73.

prince Sativa or Thado-min-byā in the year 1364, after the fall of the Shān rulers of Panyā and Sagaing.[1]

As the delta region had not been without a literary history after the Burmese conquest in the eleventh century, we must now turn back to earlier times, before following the progress of learning in both Lower and Upper Burma from the fifteenth century onwards.

[1] Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 63, 64 ; *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, p. 8.

CHAPTER III

Buddhism and Pali Literature in Martaban (Muttima) and at Pegu City (Haṃsāvatī) from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century—Dhammaceti and the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions—Literature in Upper Burma from the Foundation of Ava (Ratanapura) to the end of the Sixteenth Century

§ 1. *Pegu (Rāmaññadesa).*

Buddhist learning in Rāmaññadesa, the Talaing country, may have been greatly impoverished by the carrying away of texts and scholars from Sudhammapura at the time of Anorata's successful raid, but we do not positively know that it was so. Indeed, a country so easy of access from India, Ceylon, and Indo-China must have continued to receive new contributions to its intellectual store; the northern rulers, professing Buddhism themselves, could have no motive for discouraging students or pilgrims from abroad, and it is not likely that the Order suffered in any way from the Burmese power established in the south after the fall of Thatōn.

However, the first literary personage of Rāmaññā that we meet in the Sāsanavaṃsa is Sāriputta, afterwards named Dhammavilāsa, a twelfth century author.[1] Sāriputta was born at Padīpajeyya, near Dala (opposite Rangoon), and entered the Order late in life. He was still a novice (*sāmaṇera*) when he went to Pagan[2] in the reign of Narapati-si-thu and received the *upasampadā* ordination from the thera Ānanda, one of the four who had accompanied Chapaṭa returning from Ceylon. Being thus inducted into the Sīhaḷasaṅgha, Sāriputta could claim to be in the direct 'line of descent', to use the ecclesiastical phrase, from the ancient teachers of the Mahāvihāra. He became one of the leaders of the sect.

[1] See Sir John Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, iv; Preface to Forchhammer's translation of the *Wagaru Dhammathat*, p. 5; Forchhammer, *Essay*, pp. 29, 35.

[2] Sās., p. 41.

It is said that the king heard of the aged monk's learning and holiness and thought of appointing him royal preceptor, but before summoning Sāriputta he sent some court officials to find out what manner of man he was. When they returned and described him as extremely old and feeble (some say, with a slight deformity as well), Narapati was unwilling to put on him the labour and fatigue of being the king's *ācariya*, and contented himself with honouring the thera in other ways.

Sāriputta was afterwards sent to his native country to 'purify religion' there, which (in the Sāsanavaṁsa) means that he was to represent the Sīhaḷasaṅgha in the south. This was duly done by Sāriputta, who settled at Dala and handed on the Mahāvihāra tradition to his pupils. The establishment of the Ceylon school in the Talaing country is said to date from that time. It is interesting to remember in this connection that, according to the Mahāvaṁsa, an earlier generation of scholars in Rāmaññā had supplied teachers to the Siṁhalese fraternity, when theras of Sāriputta's country were called upon, in Vijayabāhu's reign (A.D. 1071–1123), to come over to Ceylon and restore learning there.[1] Sāriputta probably lived till the year 1246. It is difficult to distinguish his religious works (if he composed any) from those of the other Sāriputtas of that epoch.[2] His most interesting work, from the historical point of view, was neither in grammar, Vinaya, nor Abhidhamma, and is not mentioned in the Sāsanavaṁsa or in the Gandhavaṁsa. Sāriputta, or Dhammavilāsa (to call him by the name conferred on him as a title of honour by Narapati), is known to be the author of one of the earliest law codes of Burma.[3]

[1] Kern, *Man. Ind. Buddh.*, p. 132, note (reference to Mahāv., lx, 5).

[2] See Sās., p. 33; GV., pp. 61, 66, 67, 71; Forchhammer, *List*, pp. v, viii. Two Sāriputtas are mentioned in the Gandhavaṁsa list of doctors of Ceylon, one among those of Burma. Ṭīkās on the Aṅguttaranikāya, Majjhimanikāya, the Sāratthadīpanī, and a ṭīkā on it were written in Ceylon by a Sāriputta of the reign of Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153–84), a contemporary therefore of Sāriputta of Dala.

[3] Taw Sein Ko says: 'The dates of birth and death of Dhammavilāsa as well as of the completion of his Dhammathat are unknown. Even the Sāsanālaṁkāra, compiled as late as 1832 A.D. by the learned monk Maung Daung sa dô, Archbishop of King Bôdôp'aya at Amarapura, is silent on these points' (*Ind. Ant.*, xxiv, p. 302).

Dhammavilāsa's code stands at the beginning of a series of Pali and Burmese Buddhist law texts, which are of the greatest interest as disclosing, to quote Forchhammer's words, 'the practical effect of a religious system upon the social and political growth of the Talaings and Burmans.'[1] The question of the remote origin of these codes is a fascinating and difficult one.

Whether the Brahmanic (caste and sacerdotal) element was eliminated from them by later Buddhist lawgivers, or whether they, with all their essential Buddhistic features, go back to 'the law of Manu as it existed in India prior to the ascendancy of Brahmanism', cannot be decided without a complete knowledge of the oldest law-codes of India. And for our present purpose it must be enough (however unsatisfactory an 'enough') to say that the Talaing monk Sāriputta or Dhammavilāsa was the author of the oldest *dhammasattha* known by name to future generations in Burma.

The Dhammavilāsa Dhammathat[2] was the basis of later codes, Pali and Burmese, which took this title; and the Talaing influence,[3] to be recognized by the presence of a Hindu element, is visible in the Pali codes till the eighteenth century.

While Dhammavilāsa and his pupils were establishing the 'succession of theras' at Dala, a like movement took place in Martaban (Muttima). The opposition between the Sīhaḷa-saṃgha and the other sects, which had been manifested so keenly at Pagan, was thus continued in the south. The queen's two preceptors, Buddhavaṃsa and Mahānāga, had

[1] See the *Jardine Prize Essay* (Forchhammer) and translations of legal texts, accompanied by valuable introductory remarks and notes published in Sir John Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, Rangoon, 1882–3.

[2] Forchhammer did not succeed in finding the original Pali Dhammavilāsa Dhammathat. He mentions a commentary composed about 1656 A.D., and a Burmese version by Nandamāla, made at Amarapura in 1768. *Essay*, p. 29; see also *Notes on Buddhist Law*, part iv; Preface to translation of the Wagarudhammathat on marriage and divorce, p. 3.

[3] Another example is the Wagarudhammathat, an important code drawn up in Talaing by Wagaru, king of Martaban (A.D. 1281–1306). The Pali translation was made at the end of the fifteenth century. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, vol. iii, p. xi.

visited Ceylon, had gone through a course of instruction, and received re-ordination at the Mahāvihāra.[1] On their return to Martaban they separated themselves from the other communities, and a Ceylon sect was formed.

Afterwards, for many generations, a scholarly rivalry existed between Pegu and Burma, of which we shall hear something in the later history of their literature. Possibly Talaing authors may have been drawn together then by a bond of nationality stronger than the ties of sect, but the Sāsanavaṃsa makes the distinction chiefly between the Sīhaḷasaṃgha theras and the members of the Arahantagaṇa, whose 'direct descent' was denied by those of the Mahāvihāra tradition.

Our Pali chronicle says little about Martaban and nothing about Wagaru, who, however, reigned wisely for twenty-two years. We can only suppose that he did not protect the Sīhaḷasaṃgha with any particular zeal. A historian of the Talaing country and the old tradition could fill the gap and give us more details of the progress of learning in the south. But we know that the well-being of the Order depended on the state of the country, and it is probable that the Sāsanavaṃsa leaves out very little that is of importance in the list, though a singularly short one, of works written in Rāmaññā during the two centuries between Dhammavilāsa's long life and the revival of religion connected with the name of Dhammaceti in the fifteenth century. The Shāns, whose growing power in Burma had broken down the old Pagan dynasty, were not disposed to leave Martaban and Pegu in peace.[2] The Zimmé Shāns had also pushed westward. Changes of rulers and the skirmishing warfare around the unstable thrones of the small southern kingdoms must have deprived the monasteries of much valuable patronage, even if the monks were left undisturbed. For nearly every mention of important literary work in chronicles like the Sāsanavaṃsa is accompanied by mention of some royal or wealthy patron. And this need not surprise us or force us to conclude that the Order was

[1] Sās., p. 42.

[2] See Forbes, *Legendary History*, pp. 26, 27; Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 65 ff.

at any time in slavish dependence on royalty and riches. Literary work required a more spacious, convenient *vihāra* than was needed for the simple round of the mendicant's ordinary life, besides a whole library of sacred texts. To supply all these and other necessaries of scholarship was a highly meritorious act, and rich laymen were as eager to acquire merit in such ways as the monks were content to accept their gifts. But, still, there were times when, as the chronicles say, 'religion was dimmed.'

The briefer a literary history is, the more we need to be clear as to the chronology of the works chosen to illustrate it. But often this is only placing together fragments by guess-work. We are glad to meet any evidence of the state of scholarship at a given period, such as the Talaing inscriptions found by Forchhammer near the Kumāraceti pagoda in Pegu. Forchhammer observed that these inscriptions (which record the contributions of pious people to the rebuilding of the *cetiya* and a *vihāra*) are in more ancient lettering than those of the Kelasa pagoda in the same region. These latter can be dated with certainty as fifteenth-century, and Forchhammer believed the older writing to belong to the beginning of the fourteenth century, 'when with the rise of Wagaru, King of Martaban, a new impulse had been given to native learning, and Buddhism again had attained to exclusive predominance on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban.' [1]

A south-country author who doubtless belongs to the fourteenth century is Medhaṃkara, who wrote the well-known Lokadīpasāra. The Sāsanavaṃsa tells us that he was the preceptor of Queen Bhaddā, the mother of Setibhinda, the king reigning at Muttimanagara (Martaban).[2] Medhaṃkara had gone through a course of study in Ceylon, and lived afterwards

[1] Forchhammer, *Notes on the Early History*, etc., ii, p. 8. Forchhammer mentions elsewhere an important sect founded in the south by Buddhavaṃsa (afterwards known, for the confusion of future Burmese chroniclers, as Culla-Buddhaghosa). He also had sojourned in Ceylon and held Siṅhalese views of orthodoxy. *Jardine Prize Essay*, pp. 64, 65.

[2] Sās., p. 42. Setibhinda, or Bingâ-û, began to reign A.D. 1348, and assumed the title Hsin-hpyu-shin (possessor of a white elephant). He made Martaban his capital.

at Martaban.[1] The Lokadīpasāra is described by Oldenberg as 'a collection of chapters on different subjects, arranged according to a cosmological scheme'. The chapters deal with different stages of existence—in hell, in the animal kingdom, among the *pretas* (ghosts), and so forth, and the subjects are illustrated by legends.

Haṃsāvatī (Pegu city), the capital of the kingdom of Pegu from the middle of the fourteenth century, also had its learned theras; the Apheggusāra, written at Haṃsāvati by a scholar whose name is not mentioned in the Sāsanavaṃsa, deals with Abhidhamma topics.[2]

Some important grammatical work was also done in the south—and at the ill-fated Thatōn—by the thera Mahāyasa of that city. Neither the thera nor his books are mentioned in the Sāsanavaṃsa, though the Kaccāyanabheda and Kaccāyanasāra not only became standard texts for commentators and students in Burma, but have since been better known in Ceylon than works of Burmese grammarians usually are.

The Kaccāyanabheda, also called the Kaccāyanabhedadīpikā, deals with the grammatical terminology of Kaccāyana; the Kaccāyanasāra, as the title shows, is a résumé of or textbook on the teaching of that great grammatical authority.

A ṭīkā on Kaccāyanasāra was written by Mahāyasa himself;[3]

[1] Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 42; Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. at India Office*, p. 126. The Gandhavaṃsa calls the author of Lokadīpasāra, Nava-Medhaṃkara (Medhaṃkara, the younger). The Medhaṃkara who appears in the list of the theras who worked at Pagan is probably not the same.

[2] See Sās., p. 48; also Forchhammer, *List*, p. xviii, where Apheggupatho and Apheggusāradīpanīpatho are mentioned. The Gandhavaṃsa is silent about this work. In Nevill's MS. Catalogue, Apheggusāradīpanī is described as an *anuṭīkā* dealing with matter in the Abhidhammattha vibhāvanī. Cf. Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 39, where the author proposes to give the subtle and profound *sāra* (essence) of 'all the books'. The Apheggusāradīpanī, according to the Mandalay MS., was composed at Haṃsāvatī by the *ācariya* of Queen Sīvalī. He was Mahāsuvaṇṇadīpa, the son of Parakkamabahalarājā.

[3] For Kaccāyanabheda and Kaccāyanasāra see SVD., verse 1250; GV., p. 74; Forchhammer, *List*, pp. xx and xxi, where the author is called Rasa of Thatone. The name Mahāyasa is given by Nevill on Siñhalese authority. In Fausböll's *Catalogue*, p. 47, the name is Rassa; in GV., p. 74, Dhammānanda; the Piṭakatthamain (p. 69) says that Mahāyasa was the author.

another by Saddhammavilāsa of Pagan,[1] whose ṭīkā on Kaccāyanasāra is known as the Sammohavināsinī. Yasa's later commentators were scholars of Burma. Among them we shall find the well-known names of Ariyālaṃkāra and Tipiṭakālaṃkāra of Ava.[2]

As to the date of Kaccāyanasāra, we may say that it probably was not written before the thirteenth century, as it contains quotations from the twelfth century treatises Bālāvatāra, Rūpasiddhi, Cūḷanirutti, and Sambandhacintā.[3] On the other hand, it was known not only in Pegu but in Upper Burma by the middle of the fifteenth century, as we know from the fact that a copy was presented to a monastery at Pagan in 1442.[4]

Probably Mahāyasa belongs to the reign of Hsin-hpyu-shin (Pali: Setibhinda), who established his capital at Pegu in 1370. Hsin-hpyu-shin finished his reign in comparative calm,[5] and was, after his manner, religious. There was even a temporary peace between Pegu and Burma, but when Setibhinda died his successors plunged into war, and a state of things grievously unfriendly to scholarship began again. But in the fifteenth century came a great revival of religion under Dhammaceti, King of Pegu, who reigned 822–53 B.E. (A.D. 1460–91).[6]

Dhammaceti's reign was doubly memorable. He was famous far beyond the limits of his own country for his statesmanship and magnificence, and renowned in the whole Buddhist world for his piety. The story of his elevation to the throne gives us the impression of a very unusual personality. He was not

[1] Forchhammer, *Report*, Pagan, p. 2.
[2] Ariyālaṃkāra's ṭīkā on Kaccāyanabheda is entitled Sāratthavikāsinī.
[3] Written in Ceylon ; see above, p. 22.
[4] See Appendix to this chapter.
[5] Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 27 ; Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 67.
[6] Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 290. Forbes remarks (*Legendary History*, p. 31) that the various copies of the Talaing histories differ as to the dates of the several monarchs reigning in Pegu 'between 710 and 900 or A.D. 1370-1538'. The Burmese era quoted here is the Kaliyuga (as the word is usually employed in the Sāsanavaṃsa), reckoning from 638 A.D. (See Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 14.) The date given in the Sāsanavaṃsa for Dhammaceti's accession is A.B. 2002, which corresponds to A.D. 1458. I must correct here a blunder in my edition, where 202 (*dvisate*) should be 2002 (*dvisahasse*). (Sās., p. 43.)

of the blood royal, and came first from Burma as a simple monk, one of two who had aided the flight of a Peguan princess from the Burmese Court. This princess, married against her will to the King of Ava, was afterwards the famous Queen Shin-sau-bu. When she assumed the sovereignty in Pegu (1453 A.D.) the sometime monk Dhammaceti, who had so devotedly befriended her, became her chief minister and later her son-in-law and successor.[1] Dhammaceti was not only a protector of the Order he had quitted, but a reformer in the orthodox sense. Something of the ecclesiastic reappears in the monarch's attachment to the Sīhalasaṃgha, an attachment to which the celebrated Kalyāṇi inscriptions bear witness. These inscriptions, found in a suburb of Pegu city, were carved on stone tablets by order of Dhammaceti, and are a very interesting chapter in the Pali records of Buddhism. They relate how the king determined to give the Order in Rāmaññā a duly consecrated place for ceremonies, and how, after earnest study of authoritative texts, he sent a mission to Ceylon with this object. The monks sent by him received the *upasampadā* ordination afresh from the Mahāvihāra fraternity within consecrated boundaries on the Kalyāṇi River, near Colombo, and on their return consecrated the enclosure in Pegu, henceforth known as the Kalyāṇisīmā.[2] Within these boundaries the *upasampadā* could be conferred as from the direct spiritual successors of Mahinda, the great missionary to Ceylon, and thus the link was restored in the 'succession of teachers' broken (said the Sīhaḷasaṃgha doctors) in Rāmaññā.

[1] See Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 84; Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 32.

[2] See Taw Sein Ko's *Preliminary Study of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions of Dhammaceti*, 1476 A.D. 'The ceremonial [for consecration of a *sīmā*] has been interpreted in various ways by the commentaries and scholia on the Mahāvagga, such as the Vinayatthakathā, Sāratthadīpanī, Vimativinodanī, Vinayaṭīkā by Vajirabuddhi thera, Kankhāvitaraṇī, Vinayavinicchaya-pakaraṇa, Vinayasaṃgahapakaraṇa, and the Sīmālaṃkārasaṃgaha; and the object of the Kalyāni Inscriptions is to give an authoritative ruling on these varied opinions and to prescribe a ceremonial for the consecration of a *sīmā* which shall be in accordance with what is laid down by Gautama Buddha, and which at the same time shall not materially conflict with the interpretations of the commentators' (*Ind. Ant.*, xxii, p. 11). The *sīmā* is described in this article as a boundary formed by pits filled with water; the appropriate Kammavācā are chanted as the consecrating ceremony.

We must not forget how vital this matter appeared to Burmese Buddhists. The Order, in so far as such questions had gained importance for it, was somewhat less of a free fraternity and more of a 'church', and the point of view taken by the monks was an ecclesiastical one. The part taken by the king is worthy of notice.

In the case of the Kalyāṇisīmā Dhammaceti used his royal authority to support his own deep conviction, and, as often happened in its history, the orthodox Sangha had the temporal power to some extent at its service. Not that the Sangha in Burma has ever claimed authority over consciences (i.e. the right to persecute). It has been as all other truly free associations, and, with time, has known divisions and developed factions, and a sect has sometimes had powerful supporters who were not content to stop short at a moral ascendancy over man. The perfect tolerance inculcated by the religion was hard for some of these strenuous minds to accept, and even Dhammaceti, though he was far indeed from being a despot in religion, was anxious to establish orthodoxy in his kingdom. The Kalyāṇi inscriptions show us to what degree a religious superiority over the rest of the community was claimed by those who had received the Ceylon ordination and were called the Sīhaḷasaṃgha.

An interesting literary point is the mention of the standard authorities on Vinaya subjects at the time,[1] and details as to the instruction required for novices and monks. These treatises are mostly of Siṅhalese authorship.

Besides those of an older period we hear of the well-known Vajirabuddhiṭīkā (sometimes called the Vinayagandhi or Vinayagaṇṭhi), a ṭīkā or explanation of difficult passages in

[1] e.g. the Sāratthadīpanī mostly by Sāriputta of Ceylon (Sās., p. 33; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 12), the Vimativinodanī by Kassapa, of the Tamil country [Damilarattha] (Sās., p. 33; *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 13), the Vinaya ṭīkā by Vajirabuddhi (Sās., p. 33; GV., p. 60), the Vinayavinicchaya by Buddhadatta of Ceylon (Sās., p. 33; GV., p. 59; *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 18), the Vinayasaṃgaha by Sāriputta of Ceylon (Sās., p. 33; *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 7). The Sīmālaṃkāra pakarana of Chapata was a result of the Talaing thera's studies in Ceylon. Two Vinaya treatises (the Pātimokkhavisodhanī and Sīmābandhanī ṭīkā) may belong to this period, but neither dates nor authors are mentioned. See P.TH., p. 44.

the Vinaya commentaries. The author, Mahāvajirabuddhi of Ceylon, was a contemporary of Dhammaceti, to whom he sent a copy of his work.

§ 2. *Buddhist Literature in Panyā (Vijayapura), Ava (Ratanapura), Taungu (Jeyyavaddhana), and Laos.—Ariyavaṃsa.—Grammar, Poetry, and Abhidhamma in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*

We must now follow the rather faint track of Burmese literary history from the time of the revolt and separation of the Southern provinces.

The chronicles of Burma tell us of a continual struggle between different dynasties and the hostile races they represented — Burmese, Talaing, and Shān. The Shāns, forced southward and westward by the Mongol armies of Kublai Khan, had become a powerful element in Burma in the thirteenth century.[1] They had penetrated to the south, and the Talaing population had accepted in Wagaru a ruler who was probably of half-Shān extraction. In Burma the King of Pagan (Kyaswa) was deposed in 1298 by the three Shān governors whose territories surrounded his diminished and enfeebled kingdom. The three, being brothers, held together and founded the dynasty that reigned at Myinzaing (Khandhapura),[2] Panyā (Vijayapura), and Sagaing (Jeyyapura) till the prince Thadominbya, who was believed to be of Burmese royal race, made himself master of Upper Burma and founded Ava in 1364.[3]

Ava (Ratanapura), though not always of great importance as a capital, remained a religious and literary centre for many generations of authors. It is not necessary for our present purpose to look further into the records of war, revolts, counter-revolts, marriages, and murders of those times, except when such events are connected with religious history and, by a rare chance, the name of a saintly celebrity or the title of a book

[1] Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 28; Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 52.
[2] Sās., p. 81. 'The three brothers, having deposed Kittitara in the year 664 of the Kaliyuga, set up their rule in Khandhapura.'
[3] Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 62. Sās., p. 90, 'in the year 722 of the Kaliyuga.'

can be rescued from the tangle. The city of Ratanapura did not entirely supersede Pagan, Panyā, and Sagaing in religious importance. From all we can learn about the place and date of the Pali works possible to place between the founding of Ava and the middle of the sixteenth century, it seems that scholars were always to be found busy in the monasteries near the chief cities. However turbulent the times may have been, the reigning families protected the Order and loaded it with bounty. Their example was followed by men and women of rank and wealth.[1]

The Sāsanavaṃsa gives us a glimpse into the life of a monastic scholar of those days in the story of Ariyavaṃsa, a celebrated teacher and author of the fifteenth century.[2] Ariyavaṃsa, who was of Pagan and a member of the Chapaṭa sect, settled in Ava in the reign of Narapati (1442–68).[3] Before he became famous he went to Sagaing to study grammar with the learned thera known as Ye-din ('the water-carrier'). The chronicler tells us how Ye-din came by his name. Either to restrain his own inclination for talk or because he found the brethren too talkative, he was in the habit of keeping his mouth filled with water when others were present. When the young monk from Pagan first arrived at his monastery there seemed little hope that the silent Water-carrier would discourse to him on grammar. But Ariyavaṃsa was not to be discouraged. He came daily to the *vihāra*, performing all the services of a disciple for Ye-din, till the latter broke his silence to ask the reason of the thera's visit. Ariyavaṃsa craved leave to study with the famous *ācariya*, since, though he had studied many texts, he had not grasped their meaning, and, till then, *upadesa* (exposition) of other masters had not helped him. Ye-din was touched and consented to give some of his time to the inquirer, and then explained the Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī[4]

[1] See the very interesting collection, *Inscriptions of Pagān, Pinyā, and Ava*, edited by Taw Sein Ko and translated by Tun Nyein of the Burma Secretariat; Rangoon, 1899. The list of works mentioned in an inscription of 1442 A.D. is very valuable for the chronology of works that we could not otherwise date. See Appendix to this chapter.

[2] Sās., pp. 95 ff. [3] Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 285.

[4] Commentary on the Abhidhammatthasangaha.

to him with 'various methods of exposition'. Ariyavaṃsa was soon able to tell his preceptor that, thanks to his teaching, his pupil had grasped all the knowledge he had missed till then. The *ācariya* then charged him to do his part in helping others by writing a commentary on the text he felt best fitted to expound. Ariyavaṃsa chose the Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī, and composed a commentary on it entitled Maṇisāramañjūsā. While writing it he submitted it, chapter by chapter, to the criticism of his fellow-monks, reading it aloud to them as they sat assembled on *uposatha* days in the courtyard of the Puññacetiya.

A very charming little anecdote is told of his readiness to accept correction. On one occasion a monk seated in the assembly twice uttered a loud sound of disapproval during the reading. Ariyavaṃsa noted the passages that had called forth these protests, and also found out where the objector lived. Returned to his own *vihāra* he carefully reviewed his work and found two things to correct—a fault of composition (repeating the same explanation twice) and a fault of grammar (a mistake in the gender of a word). He corrected them, sent for the other monk, and mildly asked him what fault he found with the work that had cost the writer the intense labour of long days and nights to compose. The other replied bluntly that there was little fault to find; the book was perfect as to its words and sense, but he had observed two faults, an unnecessary repetition and a wrong gender, and he would not let them pass without protest. And Ariyavaṃsa rejoiced in his heart and took off his garment of fine cloth and gave it to the other, saying, 'With this do I pay reverence to thy knowledge.' Few as the words are, there shines through them the scholar's clear and simple soul.

Ariyavaṃsa lived and wrote for some time at Sagaing, but taught afterwards at Ava, where the king was sometimes among his hearers. One of his most important later works was another Abhidhamma study entitled Maṇidīpa, a ṭīkā on the Atthasālinī[1]

[1] Commentary on the Dhammasaṅganī of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. See Forchhammer, *List*, p. xviii; GV., pp. 65, 67, 75; Sās., p. 98; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 34. P.TH. (p. 40) gives 1442 A.D. as the date of the Maṇidīpa.

of Buddhaghosa. He also composed a grammatical treatise, the Gandhābharaṇa,[1] and a study of the Jātaka, Jātakavisodhana.

These works were composed, according to the old scholarly tradition, in Pali; but Ariyavaṃsa was a teacher not content to write only for the learned. He stands out in the Sāsanavaṃsa's record of literary theras as the first name connected with a metaphysical work in the vernacular. He composed an *atthayojanā* or interpretation in Burmese of a commentary called the Anuṭīkā on the Abhidhamma.[2] The Gandhavaṃsa attributes another work entitled Mahānissara[3] to Ariyavaṃsa, but there is no mention of it in the Sāsanavaṃsa.

Ariyavaṃsa may have been still living when a new writer came to Ava whose talents gained him the favour of the king.[4] This was Sīlavaṃsa, of Taung-dwin-gyī, who had already composed a poetical version of the Sumedhakathā,[5] a poem entitled Buddhālaṃkāra, and another, apparently on his native city, dignified by its Pali name Pabbatabbhantara. Sīlavaṃsa was thirty years of age when he came to the capital. The king, after the manner of royal patrons of religion, established him in a *vihāra* where other honoured teachers had lived before him, and there he lectured on the sacred texts. He, like Ariyavaṃsa, laboured to spread religious learning by interpreting Pali texts in the vernacular. A Burmese *atthayojanā* of the Nettipakaraṇa,[6] and another edifying work, the Parāyanavatthu, prove that he was not merely a poet, though the author of the Sāsanavaṃsa seems rather inclined to reproach him for his attachment to verse.

[1] The Gandhābharaṇa (otherwise Ganthābharaṇa or Gaṇḍābharaṇa) was studied and glossed by well-known Burmese scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and re-edited among standard works recently.

[2] The work generally known as the Anuṭīkā was written by Dhammapāla to supplement the original ṭīkā (of Ānanda) on the Abhidhamma. See the Sāsanavaṃsa's list of commentaries composed in Ceylon (Sās., p. 33).

[3] I am not sure that this word should not be Mahānissaya (chief commentary or gloss in Burmese); the work would probably be the *atthayojanā*, of which mention has been made above.

[4] Dutiya-min-khaung or Sirisudhammarājādhipati, who began to reign A.D. 1470. Sās., p. 98, 'the year 842 of the Kaliyuga.' Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 285.

[5] The story of the ascetic Sumedha forms part of the Introduction (Nidāna) to the Jātaka commentary. See Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka, vol. i, pp. 2–28.

[6] See pp. 5, 8.

Another poet of Ava, Raṭṭhasāra,[1] born in 1468, composed metrical versions of the Bhūridattajātaka,[2] Hatthipālajātaka,[3] and Saṃvarajātaka,[4] besides a number of other poems. He may have been a good verse-maker and the tone of his poems religious, but he comes under the same mild censure as his brother-poet. In fact, the old-time chroniclers (*porāṇā*) exclude these two from the succession of theras precisely because they not only wrote verses but recited them, and instructed their pupils in the same art of recitation. The Sāsanavaṃsa gravely explains that this is a question of discipline too large to be treated in the chronicle, and we are referred to a modern Vinaya treatise, the Uposathavinicchaya, for details. The composing and reciting of poems was apparently a transgression of the religious rule (*sikkhāpada*) concerning singing and dancing. Taking part in or looking on at such performances is forbidden to monks (*samaṇā*) and all those under temporary vows (*uposathikā*), who have undertaken a stricter self-denial than the ordinary layman.[5]

Sīlavaṃsa and Raṭṭhasāra were probably not the only poets of the monasteries in those days, but unfortunately such authors are far less likely to find mention, at least in religious chronicles, than the grammarians and expounders of Vinaya and Abhidhamma.

The Kāyaviratigāthā mentioned in the Gandhavaṃsa,[6] but not in the Sāsanavaṃsa, perhaps belongs to this epoch. It is described as a beautiful Pali poem of 274 verses on the subjection of sensuality.[7]

[1] Sās., p. 99, 'in the year 830 of the Kaliyuga.'

[2] Jātaka, No. 543. See Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka with its commentary, vol. vi, pp. 157–219.

[3] Jātaka, No. 509. Fausböll, iv, pp. 473–91.

[4] Jātaka, No. 462. Fausböll, iv, pp. 130–6.

[5] The Buddhist laity are only bound to observe five fundamental rules of conduct, whereas the Order observes ten. A layman may bind himself to keep eight of the ten on the Uposatha days (occurring four times a month). See Kern, *Man. Ind. Buddh.*, p. 70; Childers' *Dictionary of the Pali Language* (articles 'Sīlam' and 'Uposatho').

[6] GV., pp. 65, 75.

[7] A ṭikā on it is ascribed to a monk of Pakuḍhanagara (Pegu city?). See the *British Museum Catalogue of Pali MSS.* and Mr. Nevill's note on the copy in his collection.

Till the beginning of the sixteenth century religion seems to have been respected in the Burmese kingdoms notwithstanding their chronic state of disturbance and change. But when the Shān chief of Monyin, after years of raiding and plundering, overthrew the King of Ava[1] and placed his own son Thohanbwā on the throne, even the Buddhist Order was cruelly persecuted. To Thohanbwā any community of monks meant a body of unmarried, disciplined men, far more dangerous to a despotic and hated government than fathers of families, and he deliberately set about exterminating the hapless mendicants. In the massacres that followed pagodas and monasteries went up in flames and precious libraries were destroyed.[2] But even in the terror and desolation around him the thera Saddhammakitti, a pupil of Ariyavaṃsa, was faithful to the cause of scholarship. He believed, as Arahanta had believed and preached to the Burmese conqueror of Pegu centuries before, that the fate of religion was bound up with the right understanding of the sacred texts, and that this must rest on a right knowledge of their language. And he did the best he could for the faith in those calamitous days by compiling the famous vocabulary Ekakkharakosa.[3]

Saddhammakitti died at Taungu (Ketumatī), then the capital of an independent kingdom[4] and a refuge for great numbers of the Burmese who had fled from the cruel tyranny of Thohanbwā. The King of Taungu, Mahāsirijeyyasūra,[5] protected religion and built *cetiyas* and *vihāras*.[6] Thus, in Taungu, where the Order was safe and in peace, not, as in Ava, barely surviving a relentless persecution, it was possible to discuss points of discipline. And a controversy arose on the use of fermented drinks. Intoxicants are forbidden to the

[1] Mahārājādhipati (1501–26). Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 87, 92, 93.
[2] Sās., pp. 76, 100. The Sāsanavaṃsa gives the date of these dire events as 'the year 887 of the Kaliyuga' (= A.D. 1525).
[3] The Ekakkharakosa is not mentioned in the Gandhavaṃsa. (In the Mandalay collection at the India Office there is a work entitled Sirivicittālaṃkāra by a Saddhammakitti, but whether by the author of the Ekakkharakosa I cannot say. See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 52.)
[4] Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 90 ff.
[5] Came to the throne in 1485 and reigned forty-five years.
[6] Sās., p. 80.

Order, but the commentaries on the Vinaya (for example, the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī of Buddhaghosa) left it doubtful whether the juice of the palm and cocoanut trees could lawfully be drunk by the religious or not. Some maintained that such juices were lawful if drunk as they flowed from the tree, others denied it, as some commentaries spoke of the 'elements of intoxication' latent in the seed, and the dispute continued till the thera Mahāparakkama, 'seated in the midst,' settled the question. According to his judgment, which was accepted by the disputants, the juices in question might be drunk, but only fresh from the tree. Mahāparakkama afterwards treated the whole subject in a work entitled Surāvinicchaya[1] (Decisions concerning Intoxicants).

It would seem that religion was not long or greatly in danger at Panyā, as the Sāsanavaṃsa assures us that many authors wrote there.[2] Only two names are given, however—Saddhammaguru, the author of Saddavutti, and Vijitāvī, celebrated for two grammatical treatises, a Kaccāyanavaṇṇanā, or commentary on the Sandhikappa (section treating of euphonic combination of letters) of Kaccāyana's grammar,[3] and the Vācakopadesa, still recognized by Burmese scholars. The Vācakopadesa 'treats the grammatical categories from a logical point of view' (Oldenberg). These familiar names are missing from the Gandhavaṃsa. The MS. of a ṭīkā on Vācakopadesa in the India Office[4] gives the date of this treatise as A.D. 1606. In 1530 began a more auspicious epoch for the Order. A warlike and able ruler, Ta-bin-shwe-hti, succeeded Mahāsirijeyyasūra as King of Taungu.[5]

Ta-bin-shwe-hti conquered Pegu, where he not only protected religion but added to his own glory by his magnificent foundations. In his reign a revolution overthrew the Shān

[1] Sās., p. 81. [2] Sās., p. 90.

[3] Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 45; SVD., verse 1242. The Vācakopadesa is mentioned without the author's name in Forchhammer's *List*, p. xxii.

[4] Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 104. The commentary on Vācakopadesa, by another Vijitāvī, was written at Sagaing. The two works and the author are mentioned P.TH., p. 71.

[5] 1530 A.D., Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 93.

prince reigning at Ava, who had cruelly persecuted the monks, and before many years the Shān rule succumbed before Bayin Naung. Ava was taken by the Burmese under this famous soldier's command in 1555.

Bayin Naung,[1] one of the most striking figures in the history of Burma, the sometime general and vice-regent of Ta-bin-shwe-hti and successor to the throne, united Burma and Pegu into one empire and carried his conquests into the Northern Shān States, Laos and Siam. He was a zealous Buddhist, zealous, indeed, to intolerance, and forced an outward profession of Buddhism on all his subjects, native or foreign.[2] Nevertheless, all we hear of him in the Sāsanavaṃsa is that in 1578 'the Lord of many white elephants',[3] then at the height of his power but near his end, appointed his son regent of Laos and sent the thera Saddhammacakkasāmi with him to 'purify religion' in the conquered province. A few names of scholarly monks and their works are associated with Laos in this period. Ñāṇavilāsa wrote the Saṅkhyāpakāsaka,[4] and Sirimaṅgala a ṭīkā on that work and the commentary Maṅgaladīpanī. A thera whose name is not mentioned wrote the Uppātasanti.[5]

At Haṃsāvatī some work was done in the way of commenting on the Abhidhamma. The thera Saddhammālaṃkāra wrote the Paṭṭhānasāradīpanī, and Mahānāma a ṭīkā entitled Madhusāratthadīpanī.[6] These works are mentioned without any date in the Sāsanavaṃsa, which by the way, differing from the Piṭakatthamain, gives Ānanda as the author of the

[1] The 'Branginoco' of the Portuguese. We have not only Oriental but European testimony to the magnificence of his reign.

[2] See Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 108 ff.

[3] Sās., p. 51.

[4] Ñāṇavilāsa wrote the Saṅkhyāpakāsaka at Ayuddha, P.TH., p. 61.

[5] A work consulted by Minayeff and mentioned in his *Recherches*. As Dr. Barnett has pointed out to me, from this title (Sanskrit: *Utpātaśānti*) the work would appear to treat of rites or charms for averting evil omens or public calamities. For *śānti*, in the sense of expiatory rite, see Sadviṃśa-brāhmaṇa (Prap. v), edited by H. F. Eelsingh, Leiden, 1908, cf. p. 51 below and Appendix.

[6] Sās., p. 48: P.TH., pp. 40, 41. In the latest edition (by Hsaya Ū Hpye, Rangoon, 1908) the author's name appears as Mahānanda.

last-named, a ṭīkā on the Abhidhamma. The Piṭakatthamain places both in the reign of Bayin Naung.

The Order never again suffered from a ruler in Burma as in the evil days under Thohanbwā. From the time when the Shān rule was finally demolished by Burmese kings, more favourable days began for religion. The seventeenth century saw some further changes, which we shall note as we proceed; a religious literature in the vernacular, in the Burmese language itself, grew up round the older texts, but the earlier traditions of Pali scholarship always found faithful followers.

CHAPTER IV

The Seventeenth Century — Pegu and Upper Burma — The Scholars of Ava and Sagaing — Tipiṭakālaṃkāra, Ariyālaṃkāra, and others

By the year 1617 Burma and Pegu, welded into one empire by Bayin Naung's conquests, had already been separated once and forced into a second union by the conqueror's grandson Mahādhammarāja.[1]

Pegu city (Haṃsāvatī), as in Bayin Naung's time, was the capital, and we can understand the Burmese king's popularity in the south when we learn (but not from the Sāsanavaṃsa) that he had succeeded in breaking up the audacious rule of the Portuguese adventurer Philip de Brito, whose government of Pegu had been carried on with the methods of a brutal buccaneer. De Brito, with wanton disrespect for the country's religion, had destroyed pagodas, and we cannot suppose that he spared monasteries or libraries. We do not know if even the Buddhist monks interceded for him when he was vanquished by their champion, taken prisoner, and condemned to an agonizing death.

There is no record in the Sāsanavaṃsa of Pali works produced in this reign. The doings, literary or otherwise, of the Sangha of Pegu are probably not well known to the author of our Burmese chronicle. Perhaps, too, he is influenced by a certain rivalry in scholarship which made the Talaing monks unwilling to believe in the learning of Burma, while those of the upper country were equally sure of their own superiority.[2]

It is almost touching to read in the Sāsanavaṃsa the reason (as it first appeared to the good monks of the south) why the kings of Bayin Naung's dynasty preferred Pegu as the royal residence, even after union with Burma: 'As for the monks in Burma, there are none expert in the sacred texts and learned in the Vedasatthas. Therefore, hearing this, the

[1] Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 128. [2] Sās., p. 106.

King[1] sent a message to the thera dwelling at the Four-storied Vihāra,[2] saying: "Send hither to Rāmañña some Mendicants, from thirty to forty years of age, expert in the sacred texts and learned in the Vedasatthas." So the thera sent Tipiṭakālaṃkāra, Tilokālaṃkāra, and Tisāsanālaṃkāra, with thirty Bhikkhus. When they arrived at Pegu the King built a *vihāra* for them on the Eastern side of the Módho *cetiya*, and gave it to them. And on *Uposatha* days he summoned those monks of Rāmañña who were expert in the sacred texts and learned in the Vedasatthas, and commanded them to hold a discussion with the three theras. And the monks of Rāmañña said: "Formerly, indeed, we thought there were no monks in Burma expert in the sacred texts and learned in the Vedasatthas. But lo! these Burmese monks are exceedingly expert and learned." It seems to have been a triumph for Burma.

An interesting point in the little story is the mention of the Vedaśāstras side by side with the Buddhist sacred texts. It is clear, from the list of works given to the libraries of Burmese monasteries[3] and from various allusions in the Pali literature, that Brahmanic works were studied in the *vihāras*, and we know that some were translated into Burmese. But this branch of learning was considered inferior. There is a mention in the Sāsanavaṃsa of two monks living in the reign of Mahādhammarāja[4] who gained the king's favour by their aptitude for state affairs. They were *vedasatthakovidā* too—expert in the Vedasatthas—and therefore, no doubt, acute and useful advisers; but the Order disapproved of them. They are *pariyattipaṭipattisu mandā* — weak in the sacred doctrine and practice. They journey to Pegu and disappear at once from our sight. They have no place in the 'succession of theras'.

But the Vedasattha experts were probably innocent enough of any religious interest in the hymns and sacrifices of the Brahmanic cult, and they were certainly not Vedic scholars

[1] Ukkaṃsika, otherwise Thadodhammarāja, succeeded Mahādhammarāja 1629 A.D.

[2] A royal foundation at Sagaing on the Irrawaddy.

[3] See Appendix.

[4] Came to the throne A.D. 1606.

in the Indian pandit's sense of the words; for the Vedas of the Burmese, as Forchhammer explains, are a collection of Brahmanic texts on astrology, medicine, and 'science' generally, such as the Sūryasiddhānta (astronomy), Laghugraha (astrology), Dravyaguṇa (medicine), besides Tantraśāstras (manuals of magic) and Kāmaśāstras (manuals treating of love).[1] Some of these, especially the last, cannot by the greatest stretch of liberality be fitted into any scheme of monastic learning; and, indeed, we do not hear that the Buddhist monks ever made use of them or the Brahmanic texts composed for the practice of magic. That, in all its branches, was the province of the professional Brahmans, of whom there were always some, said to be experts in the Atharvaveda, in the service of the king.[2] But there are works reckoned as Vedasatthas in which the monks found food for study, and 'Veda' subjects which they themselves delighted to handle, either in Pali or the vernacular. For a king's *ācariya* must be able to discourse on ethics and polity, pronounce moral maxims, and give advice. The Rājanīti, Lokanīti, and Dhammanīti represent this sort of literature[3] modelled on Sanskrit originals. The wise fables of the Sanskrit Hitopadeśa have also found favour with Buddhists. Again, certain Sanskrit grammatical works became famous in Further India, and lexicons such as the Amarakośa. We have seen how stoutly the theras grappled with Pali grammar, and we can imagine the sober joy with which a copy of the Amarakośa[4] would be welcomed in a *vihāra* library.

[1] See Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv, Introduction by E. Forchhammer, p. 17. Also Forchhammer, *Report* (1879–80), pp. 6 ff.

[2] For instance, when Anorata was baffled in his attempt to take Thaton, the charm which rendered the city impregnable was found out by the king's attendant Brahmans.

[3] See James Gray, *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims: The Nīti Literature of Burma*, pp. 119, 141, and R. C. Temple, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xlvii (1898), pp. 239 ff.

[4] On the famous dictionary of Amarasiṃha see Zachariae, *Die indischen Wörterbücher*. 'Amara,' says Zachariae, 'war ohne Zweifel ein Buddhist,' though this can be inferred only from his dedication and his placing of the names of Buddhas before the Brahmanic divinities, and not from any specially Buddhistic matter in the rest of the work, v. *Die indischen Wörterbücher*, Grundriss, Band i, Heft iii B, p. 18. The Pitakatthamain (p. 73) is cautious on the subject, and only states that the Amarakośa was composed at Benares by Amarasiṃha.

We shall have to return presently to the question of the Brahmanic element in Buddhist Law.[1] As for other Brahmanic contributions to the literature of Burma, they were naturally accepted by the fathers of Burmese scholarship, as there could be no reason for cultivating Buddhist medicine or Buddhist arithmetic. As far as we know at present the fathers were sage enough not to study the gems of Sanskrit poetry.

Let us now glance at certain features in the seventeenth century literature, features which may be traced clearly enough for our purpose in a brief notice of the best-known authors.

First, we find that many of the distinguished teachers of that time wrote in both Pali and Burmese. Some, for instance, Varabhisaṃghanātha, author of the Maṇikuṇḍalavatthu, and one of his contemporaries, author of the Sattarājadhammavatthu, wrote their edifying tales only in the vernacular, or at least produced nothing noteworthy in Pali.[2] Secondly, the devotion of the Burmese scholars to the study of Pali grammar, style, and prosody bore fruit in works of which the Rājindarājābhidheyyadīpanī is an instance. It would not be quite fair to call any thera a court poet, but on certain occasions theras composed Pali verses adorned with the traditional compliment and eulogy of royal patrons. Thus, when Ukkaṃsika was consecrated and took the title Sirisudhammarājamahādhipati, the thera Ratanākara wrote the Rājindarājābhidheyyadīpanī (on the naming of kings) to commemorate the ceremony.[3]

Mahādhammarāja and Ukkaṃsika were both generous to the Order, and mention of monasteries founded by them occurs often in the religious history of the seventeenth century. Some of these foundations were associated with well-known

[1] *Vide* J. Jardine and Forchhammer, *Notes on Buddhist Law*; also Introductory Remarks, Notes, pt. iii, p. ix, for the supposed prevalence of Sanskrit learning in the courts of the early kings of Prome and Pagan.

[2] Sās., p. 105. These authors belong to the time of Mahādhammarāja, 1606–29.

[3] Sās., p. 102; P.TH., p. 58. Ratanākara was acquainted with Sanskrit rhetoric and poetics.

and venerable names, such as Tipiṭakālaṃkāra, Ariyālaṃkāra, his pupil Ariyālaṃkāra the younger, and Aggadhammālaṃkāra, who were among the deepest students of their time. The Sāsanavaṃsa mentions Tipiṭakālaṃkāra and the elder Ariyālaṃkāra together as equally great examples of learning. Tipiṭakālaṃkāra was a man of wide erudition, says the chronicle, but Ariyālaṃkāra excelled in *dhātupaccayavibhāga*, in other words, was an accomplished grammarian.[1]

Tipiṭakālaṃkāra was born in 1578 A.D., and went, while still a boy, to Prome. He entered the Order at the age of thirteen, and his literary career soon began. He studied with passionate zeal, and we next hear that the fifteen-year-old novice has composed in Pali a poetical version of the Vessantarajātaka,[2] that the Burmese love most to hear, the tale of the Bodhisat's last birth as a man and his supreme acts of merit.

Tipiṭakālaṃkāra received the *upasampadā* ordination in his twentieth year. His studious life underwent a great change when Prome, then an almost independent State, fell into the hands of Surakitti,[3] King of Burma. Tipiṭakālaṃkāra was invited or compelled to come to the capital, and on the banks of the Irrawaddy near Ava the king built a *vihāra* for him. Afterwards, weary perhaps of royal *vihāras*, Tipiṭakālaṃkāra withdrew to the Tiriyapabbata to live in the quiet of the forest. However, in 1602 we again hear that he is in residence in a monastery built by the king,[4] and is famed far and wide for his learning and piety.

While living at the Four-storied Vihāra built by Surakitti, Tipiṭakālaṃkāra, given up to Abhidhamma studies, wrote a commentary on the introductory verses of the Atthasālinī. Later, at the request of Nyaung Ram Min, he composed a lighter work, the Yasavaḍḍhanavatthu. When in retreat in the quiet of the Tiriyapabbata he had some occasion to

1 Sās., p. 106.
2 Sās., p. 105 ; see Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka, vol. vi, pp. 479 ff.
3 Eldest son of Bayin Naung.
4 Nyaung Ram Min (1599–1605), son of Bayin Naung. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 286 ; Piṭakatthamain, p. 42.

take up Vinaya questions, and the result was the Vinayālaṃkāraṭīkā, one of those numerous works composed by theras of high authority to keep the old traditional 'discipline' pure.

The list of Tipiṭakālaṃkāra's works shows varied learning, but he is remembered chiefly as an Abhidhamma scholar and a saint. He was a chosen adviser of Ukkaṃsika, and one of his works is called 'Responses' to the king's questions.[1]

The theras of Sagaing at this period seem to have taken the lead in Abhidhamma studies. One of these, the thera Tilokaguru, toiled for many years at ṭīkās and supplementary ṭīkās (*anuṭīkā*) on various texts. After dealing very thoroughly with the Dhātukathā[2] he composed a ṭīkā on the Yamaka. But his great feat was a ṭīkā on the Paṭṭhāna, the most important book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.[3]

Tilokagaru is but one example. The Sagaing monasteries also produced a number of Burmese *nissayas* (interpretations or paraphrases) on Abhidhamma texts during the seventeenth century. But it is not easy to distribute these works aright among their several authors, whose Pali names are but an indifferent help to accuracy. There were at least four Ariyālaṃkāras noted for scholarship. The monk mentioned in the Sāsanavaṃsa as the second Ariyālaṃkāra (pupil of the great thera who was 'equal to Tipiṭakālaṃkāra') is probably the scholar of whom Oldenberg remarks that the Burmese are indebted to him for the version of a great number of Pali works. Those ascribed to this Ariyālaṃkāra are: (1) Interpretations of the Atthasālinī of Buddhaghosa, the Sankhepavaṇṇanā of Saddhammajotipāla,[4] the Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī of Sumaṅ-

[1] See *Bulletin*, tome v, p. 167.

[2] See the Piṭakatthamain, p. 41.

[3] The most important, that is, if we place ourselves at the point of view of the Burmese Abhidhamma students of that day. Mrs. Rhys Davids, to whose rare ability and patience we owe a scholarly edition of a part of this text, remarks, 'the aim of the work seems to have been more a series of exercises in a logic of terms and relations than any attempt to enunciate metaphysical propositions' (see Introduction to the Dukapaṭṭhāna, edited for the Pali Text Society by Caroline F. Rhys Davids, pp. x–xiv). The Paṭṭhāna is also called the Mahāpakaraṇa (Great Treatise). It consists of twenty-four sections, and in manuscript amounts to over a thousand leaves. See Forchhammer's *List*, p. xv.

[4] See above, p. 18, Chap. II.

gala,[1] and the Vibhaṅga of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.[2] (2) A Pali ṭīkā on the Kaccāyanabheda, entitled Sāratthavikāsinī. (3) Ariyālaṃkāra was careful to add a Burmese version to what we should nowadays call his revised edition of Kaccāyana's grammar.

This work was done mostly in the Dakkhiṇavana *vihāra*, or Monastery of the Southern Grove, near the Rājamaṇicūla *cetiya* at Sagaing. Ukkaṃsika had built four monasteries, one on each side of his famous pagoda,[3] and presented them to theras learned in the sacred texts. Another grammarian in residence on the west side produced an edition of the Nyāsa,[4] 'adorned' (as the Pali phrase goes), and set forth with various methods of explanation.[5]

The Nyāsa was taken up again in the reign of Sirinandadhammarāja-Pavarādhipatirājā (A.D. 1648) by the king's preceptor, Dāthanāga of Sagaing. His commentary is entitled Niruttisāramañjūsā.[6]

We here come across a mention of Pagan, once the flourishing centre of grammatical studies. The thera Jambudhaja (or Jambudīpadhaja, as the king named him) was one whom Ukkaṃsika had delighted to honour. He was of Pagan, and was first brought to the king's notice by Tipiṭakālaṃkāra.[7] The works ascribed to him are Samvaṇṇanānayadīpanī, Niruttisaṃgraha (grammar), and Sarvajñānyāyadīpanī (grammar and philology).[8] Jambudhaja, author of the little grammatical

[1] See Oldenberg's *Catalogue of Pali MSS. at the India Office*, pp. 81, 82, 84, 85, 88–90, 123, 124. Sumaṅgala is also known as Sumaṅgalasāmi and his work as the Tīkā-kyaw.

[2] The Vibhaṅga is second in order of the seven Abhidhamma books. Mrs. Rhys Davids points out that it may be considered a sequel of the Dhammasaṅgaṇī, and was probably used, like the latter, as a manual for study. For other remarks on these studies see the valuable introduction to the Pali Text Society's edition of the Vibhaṅga (ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids), 1904.

[3] The Kaung-mhu-daw pagoda, 5 miles from Sagaing.

[4] See above, p. 21. [5] Sās., pp. 106, 110; Piṭakatthamain, p. 124.

[6] See p. 111, SVD., verse 1241; Piṭakatthamain, p. 65. A work with a nearly similar title (Niruttimañjūsā), mentioned in the Gandhavaṃsa (pp. 60 and 70), is a ṭīkā on the Cullanirutti of Kaccāyana.

[7] Sās., pp. 115, 116.

[8] These works are mentioned by Nevill, who saw them in Ceylon. He dates them 1652 A.D.

treatise called Rūpabhedapakāsanī, is probably this same Jambudīpadhaja.[1]

The Abhidhamma seems to have had less attraction for him than for most of his noted contemporaries, and he devoted himself to the Vinaya, of which he translated text and commentary into Burmese. But Maṇiratana, a writer of the same period, is an example of a life spent in interpreting the abstruser side of sacred learning to those who were only capable of reading the vernacular. The Sāsanavaṃsa mentions translations by him of the following works—the Atthasālinī and Sammohavinodanī (Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the Dhammasanganī and the Vibhaṅga) and the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī (Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Pātimokkha of the Vinaya); this last seems to have been Maṇiratana's only departure from metaphysical studies. Then, turning to the later exponents of the Abhidhamma, he translated the ṭīkās Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī and Sankhepavaṇṇanā into Burmese.

Another thera, Saradassi, of the same place (Nayyinyua, in the Ava district), was the author of some works equally characteristic of the time. His Gūḷhatthadīpanī (explaining difficult passages in the seven books of the Abhidhamma)[2] and the Visuddhimaggaganṭhipadattha, a book of the same nature on Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, are in Pali. He also translated the Nettipakaraṇa into Burmese, not to shirk his part in opening up the Pali texts to readers without learning. If he is a little less shadowy to us than some of his fellow-authors, it is because, with all his grasp of abstruse questions, he had, for a time at least, leanings that greatly displeased the stricter brethren. He lived in the village itself, and indulged in luxuries such as a head-covering and a fan. But we are told that he afterwards renounced all those practices 'contrary to the discipline' and went into retreat in the forest.

The middle and latter part of the seventeenth century were not peaceful times for Burma. The country was harassed by Chinese raiders, rumours and evil omens troubled the people,

[1] Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50.

[2] Sās., p. 116; see Forchhammer's *List*, p. xxvi, and Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 35; Piṭakatthamain, pp. 39, 40.

the tutelary *devatā* of the towns were said to be departing, and 'religion was dimmed'. Great efforts were made to conjure these and other ills by the practice of religion; the local gods were conciliated with offerings, and 'merit', in the Buddhist sense, was acquired by new religious foundations. When Mahāpavaradhammarājalokādhipati came to the throne in 1651 he built some monasteries, according to the custom of his predecessors, and presented them to distinguished theras. The most eminent among these was the Aggadhammālaṃkāra, already mentioned, who translated several Pali texts into the vernacular.

He first paid the usual homage to Kaccāyana, but by writing a Burmese translation instead of a Pali commentary; afterwards he translated the Abhidhammatthasangaha, and then, as if continually seeking heavier and heavier tasks, the patient scholar toiled through translations of the Mātikā (of the Dhammasanganī), the Dhātukathā, the Yamaka, and the Paṭṭhāna.[1] The last task alone would have served a less diligent man for a lifetime, but Aggadhammālaṃkāra probably had earnest students to satisfy. There is no doubt about his real devotion to his subject.

This prodigious worker was not entirely given up to the sacred texts. Circumstances made him a court historian. He came of a family of officials, and no doubt was better fitted than most Palists of his day to carry out certain royal commissions. The last of his works that we find mentioned in the Sāsanavaṃsa is a Rājavaṃsasankhepa, a summary of the official Rājavaṃsa, or a short chronicle of the kings. This he undertook at the request of his protector, Mahāpavaradhammarājalokādhipati.[2]

Under the auspices of the next king, Naravara,[3] the thera Tejodipa, disciple of Tilokaguru, composed a ṭīkā on the Paritta.[4] It is the only literary event noticed by the Sāsanavaṃsa in this reign, which, in fact, only lasted a few months. Under Naravara's successor Siripavaramahādhammarājā[5] a thera named Devacakkobhasa comes upon the scene, whose

[1] Sās., p. 111.
[2] Sās., p. 112; Piṭakatthamain, p. 220.
[3] Mahāsihasūradhammarāja.
[4] Sās., p. 115.
[5] A.D. 1672.

influence with the king was evidently great, for the usual reason — he was learned in the Vedasatthas. The usual mild reproach follows—he was 'weak' in the knowledge of the sacred texts.[1] Nevertheless, his system of Abhidhamma teaching was recommended to the Order by the king. Devacakkobhasa made his pupils study and recite the Paṭṭhāna (we suppose in Pali). Not only the monks of Burma but those of Pegu were made to study the Paṭṭhāna. By the king's order great religious festivals were held, and the people were called upon to honour the Order in every way.

We have now reached the year 1698, and can pause to glance at those features of the Pali-Burmese literature which have come into clear relief during the seventeenth century.

Our attention is arrested by a new tendency. The zeal for Pali grammar seems to be fainter than in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; a more abstract study, the Abhidhamma, is occupying the learned among the monks, or at least those of whom we hear, those whom we may call the official scholars, the theras who have the title *rājaguru* (king's preceptor) and work in monasteries endowed by the kings. We do not know much of the lives of these teachers, but their choice of subjects throws a certain light on what was demanded of them, even by the less learned among their students, or, at least, what they, the most influential scholars of their time, insisted that their students should attempt. We have seen how the several books of the Abhidhamma were interpreted and paraphrased in Burmese during the seventeenth century, and we cannot doubt that the disciples living near their venerable masters in the monasteries by the Irrawaddy persevered in studying the third Piṭaka. And that tradition of the seventeenth century has come down to later generations, as the most casual survey of modern Burmese literature will show.

Everyone who has seen a collection of Buddhist manuscripts from Burma must have noticed the numerous copies of

[1] Sās., p. 117. The Sāsanavaṃsa tells us by the way that the well-known Burmese method of preparing and decorating palm-leaf MSS. was first put into practice in this reign. See Symes, *Account of an Embassy to the kingdom of Ava*, p. 339.

Abhidhamma texts with vernacular interpretations. The descriptions we read of Burmese life and character might lead us to expect a preference for something less arid, more picturesque, more human, more adapted to the native genius. But there is not really an anomaly here. In this particular case the Burmese remember what was said in old days about the *Buddhavacanam*, the word of the Buddha.

The classic fifth century commentaries, for instance the Atthasālinī,[1] make an interesting distinction between the three great divisions of the *Buddhavacanam*—the Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma. The Vinaya, they say, contains the teaching of rules of conduct, prohibitions, and prescriptions (*āṇādesanā*), the Sutta that of the current practice or experience of men (*vohāradesanā*), the Abhidhamma that of the highest or absolute truth (*paramatthadesanā*).

Let us see how these three collections have fared in Burmese Buddhism.

The Pali Vinaya took root quickly and profoundly in Burma. All students of the subject are agreed on the constancy with which later Vinaya literature reflects the ancient form and spirit. Buddhism has a lengthy and minute code for the Mendicant Order. That code has been prodigiously commented and glossed in the course of centuries, but the novice learns the discipline from his preceptor in the monastery by example and habit, rather than from books, and by everyday practice the observance of the rules becomes second nature without much mental effort. Of course, some book-study is required, but the essential knowledge is easy for the young monk to master even in Pali. And then there is that old and kindly institution 'The Smaller Vinayas',[1] containing the essential precepts and formulas of the Discipline.

Controversial works have been written from time to time on matters of discipline, but to know them is not a fundamental part of Vinaya study. Occasionally disputes on questions of discipline arose in the Burmese Sangha at times when the word

[1] s. Atthasālinī, E. Müller's edition (Pali Text Society), p. 21.
[2] See above, p. 6, Chap. I.

of the Buddha was, it seems, not very well known to most of the monks; and we read that the king intervened in such cases to command research in the ancient texts, or appoint teachers whose decision was to be final. The king's privilege, however, was particular; the attitude of the Burmese laity in general towards the Order and its discipline has been one of unquestioning reverence. The Vinaya itself, being a code of prohibitions concerning the monastic life, has not of course had a great influence on culture. Not that it has remained altogether without its bearing on the lay life, for there is a Vinaya element in the Burmese law codes. This we might expect, as religion and law are inseparable in Oriental polity. But when we look for the influence of Pali literature on Burmese culture it is in the Sutta that we find it.

Through the immense variety of discourses, verses, and legends that make up the Sutta piṭaka the path of the saint is traced for us in every stage, from the first moment of religious effort to the summit of achievement—arahatship. And the Sutta piṭaka has abundance of human nature in it. So in widening and widening circles it has sent a moral impulse through the life of the whole Burmese people. To give two instances: the Paritta[1] is a common treasury of good words to ward off the evils of everyday life and keep the great maxims of religion in memory, and the Jātaka has found its way everywhere, from law codes and chronicles to popular plays. The Burmese child grows up steeped in beliefs, practices, and notions of 'merit' and 'demerit' drawn from the Sutta. He has nothing new to learn about this part of his faith when he forsakes the world and enters on the monastic life. What the earnest novice from generation to generation has set himself to study in the calm of the *vihāra* is the *paramatthadhamma*, 'the highest' of the Master's teaching, the Abhidhamma.

If the Burmese student is cheerfully at home in the Sutta he approaches the Abhidhamma with awed respect, like his brother Buddhist in Siam and Cambodia. The Buddhist of

[1] See above, p. 3, Chap. I.

Indo-China is by no means enamoured, as the Indian Buddhists were, of speculation for its own sake. He reads in Buddhaghosa that there is an exalted religious joy to be found in only considering the vastness of the Paṭṭhāna. The mind of the believer, launched upon that ocean, may allow itself to be rocked to a contemplative calm. The virtue of this passive reception of the *buddhavacana* can never have been doubted in ease-loving Burma. The Burmese 'Abhidhammikā' Buddhists had little in common with the keen disputants of the north who thought in Sanskrit, and from whom sprang the great champions of the Mahāyāna system—Aśvaghosa, Asanga, and Śāntideva.

The greater number of Burmese students of metaphysics have depended from early times on compendiums and manuals. The most successful of these, after the canonical Dhammasanganī,[1] has been the twelfth-century textbook Abhidhammatthasangaha.[2] This little treatise is a summary of Buddhist theories on mental processes, on existence and annihilation. It is a mass of technical terms needing an extensive commentary. Commentators, of course, were forthcoming. The Siñhalese theras Vimalabuddhi and Sumangala both composed ṭīkās, and the second, the Abhidhammatthavibhavanī, is part of the usual course of (Abhidhammā) study in Burma.[3] Two ancient and authoritative treatises from Ceylon, the Abhidhammāvatāra[4] by Buddhadatta and the Saccasamkhepa[5] by Culladhammapāla, were studied more in the early period of Burmese scholarship than in later times.

Probably no Pali work on the Abhidhamma has been more often translated and paraphrased than the Abhidhammatthasangaha, of which the Piṭakatthamain alone mentions twenty-three different Burmese *nissayas*. All the most noted theras

[1] Edited in JPTS., 1884, with introduction by Rhys Davids. See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 38, 46, 48; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xvii.

[2] Edited by E. Müller, trans. by C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

[3] See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 38, 48; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xvii; Gandhavaṃsa, pp. 62, 72.

[4] See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 35, 37; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xvii; GV., pp. 59, 62, 69; Sās., p. 34.

[5] See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 35–7; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xvii; GV., pp. 60, 70; Sās., p. 34.

of the seventeenth century took it in hand, and it has been carefully edited by modern *hsayās*. A close analysis of the principal translations of this single little text would be an explanation, incomplete of course, but very interesting and instructive, of the true Burmese view of Abhidhamma theories, such as we find in the Dhammasanganī, also a manual,[1] and we must not forget that these theories are as much a part of the Buddhism of Burma as the human and touching spirit of the Sutta.

Some curious elements have straggled in under the accommodating title *Paramattha*, and sometimes in research we may think we have come on a metaphysical dissertation and find a guide to Buddhist cosmogony.[2] Such productions, however, are not characteristic enough of the Pali literature to need more than a mention.[3]

To return to the seventeenth century. We have seen that some of the most eminent scholars spent their time making Burmese versions of Pali texts. Either there was a much wider public, as we should now say, for religious works at that period than in earlier times, or Pali scholarship was at a low ebb in the Order. There is some ground for this last supposition. Burma had been in an almost continual state of change and disturbance since the Shān element had become first troublesome and then powerful; and Lower Burma, annexed, separated, and annexed again, suffered no less.

It would be interesting to know something about the numerical strength of the Order at different times during that period. It probably diminished greatly when even monasteries

[1] See the learned introduction of Mrs. Rhys Davids to her translation of the Dhammasanganī.

[2] An example is the Pali-Burmese Paramatthamanjusa, described by M. l'Abbé Chevrillon in the list of Burmese MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

[3] I do not mean to imply that these matters are included in Abhidhamma literature without an antique and scriptural warrant for their presence. Mrs. Rhys Davids has pointed out that the last book of the Vibhaṅga, 'suggesting by its fine title, the Heart of the Dhamma, more than it contains, gives a number of summaries and a good deal of affirmation, much of it mythological, about the conditions of life in this and other spheres—in human beings and other beings' (Introduction to the Vibhaṅga, ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, p. xix).

were insecure, and the young men of the population were more likely to be fighting than forsaking the world.[1] Those were not times for study to prosper. And, as the Sāsanavaṃsa says, 'religion was dimmed' from time to time. But the Burmese kings were sufficiently good Buddhists to build *vihāras* and encourage learning, and the great theras were indefatigable workers. It is told of Tipiṭakālaṃkāra that he once said in jest to Aggadhammālaṃkāra, 'When I am dead you will be the only learned man left in the world.' And perhaps the scholarly tradition did at one time seem likely to perish out of Burma. But there were always workers to keep it alive, some of whom we shall only find in the local chronicles (*thamain*) of temples and *vihāras*, and in the eighteenth century, when another national crisis had come and passed, a literary revival began under Alaungpayā and his descendants.

[1] In Ukkaṃsika's reign a very curious situation was brought about. The king, who had fled from the capital in consequence of a conspiracy headed by one of his sons, took refuge in a monastery, where the Bhikkhus formed themselves into an armed guard to protect him. See Sās., p. 108.

CHAPTER V

PALI LITERATURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY — THE PĀRUPAṆA-EKAṂSIKA CONTROVERSY — FOUNDATION OF AMARAPURA — BODŌPAYĀ'S EULOGIST — THE RĀJĀDHIRĀJAVILĀSINĪ — THE JĀTAKA IN BURMA

As the eighteenth century opens, the religious life of the country seems to have passed under a cloud, and we may be fairly certain that there was no intellectual advance in the Order. Perhaps there was even some reaction, if we can judge from the uninteresting controversy that drags through nearly a hundred years in the chronicle.[1]

Even without studying in detail the literature of the time, we notice the absence of work such as Tipiṭakālaṃkāra, Ariyālaṃkāra, and Aggadhammālaṃkāra had produced in Upper Burma. In Rāmaññā the Order lacked support. Since the removal of the capital to Ava in 1634 the south had gradually sunk into misery and ruin.[2] Towards the middle of the century, as we shall see, a revolt against Burma was successful for a time, but the final result was that a later conqueror, Alaungpayā, broke down the Talaing nationality completely and finally. Thus, though Alaungpayā was really a better Buddhist than his milder predecessors, the fortune of war went against scholarship in the ancient home of Buddhism from the end of the seventeenth century till the time when the Burmese conqueror's power was firmly established.

And at the moment when, leaving the seventeenth century, we have our next glimpse of literary history, there was not only a state of gloom and listlessness in Pegu but in Burma also. The country was no longer ruled by kings of the energetic and aggressive type,[3] who were usually active benefactors of religion and therefore of Pali literature.

[1] See Sās., pp. 118 ff., and Introduction, p. 37.

[2] See Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 141, 142.

[3] Phayre says of this period, 'Though the monarchy suffered no great disaster its powers gradually declined.' The raids of the Chinese in the previous century had been followed by an invasion from Manipur, and some territory in the north was lost (Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 140 ff.).

If we turn to the Sāsanavaṃsa, we come straightway upon a picture already familiar. The long, inglorious reign of Hsin-hpyu-shin[1] (in Pali, Setibhinda) has begun; the inner history of the Order seems to be quietly repeating itself. In a monastery at Ava, built by a high military official, the learned monk Ukkaṃsamāla is finishing the second of his treatises Vaṇṇabodhana and Likhananaya[2] (dealing, as the titles show, with the Pali language). The chronicle says of him that he was versed in the texts, the commentaries, the ṭīkās, and the 'other books' (*gandhantarā*), by which is meant works not strictly doctrinal but necessary to a complete Buddhist education.[3]

Ukkaṃsamāla, fortunately for him, was peacefully occupied with words and not with practices, but we cannot separate the history of Pali literature in the eighteenth century from a controversy which went on, with only a few intervals of forced truce, for nearly a century between the sects known as the Pārupanas and Ekaṃsikas. Their differences were on matters of monastic discipline, but certainly affected studies.

The Sāsanavaṃsa, in which we find a fairly full account,[4] tells us that a monk named Guṇābhilaṃkara in or about the year 1698 A.D. introduced, and the followers who gathered round him quickly adopted, the custom of wearing the mendicant's upper robe over one shoulder only, leaving the other bare. But, according to the rules for dress laid down in the Pali Vinaya, both shoulders should be draped, except when the right was uncovered as a mark of respect in addressing a superior; and here at once was a doubtful and ostentatious change which put the simpler, old-school Pārupanas (or 'clothed' sect as they were named) up in arms. This was not all. The Ekaṃsika ('one-shoulder') party carried fans when making their begging-rounds in the

[1] A.D. 1714–33 (Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 286). In Sās., 1074 Kaliyuga (=1712 A.D.).

[2] Sās., p. 120.

[3] e.g., the Piṭakatthamain (p. 52) gives under the heading *gandhantarā* the Mahāvaṃsa, Dīpavaṃsa, and their ṭīkās.

[4] Sās., pp. 117 ff.

villages. These and one or two other innovations, which may seem to outsiders a small matter, roused very strong feeling in the Order.

Guṇābhilaṃkara and his following were not considered strong in the sacred texts, and their opponents of the strict school defied them to bring forward a canonical text, commentary, or ṭīkā that authorized their practices. Here was their difficulty, and the Sāsanavaṃsa assures us that they were put to the miserable expedient of producing a work forged for them by a 'lay disciple of immoral life who had quitted the Order'.[1] They maintained that they held the views of the orthodox thera Saddhammacari of Ceylon. The severe language of the Sāsanavaṃsa would lead us to think that some moral laxity, unworthy of true 'sons of the Sakya',[2] went with these affectations of dress and habits in the new party. At all events, the question whether any given monk was a Pārupana or Ekaṃsika was, for long years, the one by which his fellow-monks would judge him. It is interesting to see the part played by the temporal power in all this. The hierarchy of the Buddhist Church was not so firmly established that the Saṅgharājā or Supreme Head could impose his will on the fraternity without the king's support, and we shall see that when the struggle became very acute the sect that was losing ground usually tried to bring the matter directly before the king.

In 1733 Mahārājādhipati came to the throne.[3] He was an ineffectual king and, as events showed, a very poor arbiter in religious matters. The Sāsanavaṃsa records only one of his acts with approval; this was the appointing of the thera Ñāṇavara as his *ācariya* (tutor or, more exactly, spiritual adviser). Ñāṇavara was originally of Pagan. When he came to the capital he threw himself zealously into the work of teaching, and the first of his works mentioned in the chronicle[4] was composed for the benefit of his many hearers.

[1] Sās., p. 119.
[2] A stock phrase of the ancient Vinaya, where unseemly conduct of monks and novices is described as *asakyaputtiya*.
[3] Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 140. Sās., 1095 K.Y.
[4] Sās., p. 121.

Mindful of their difficulties in the study of the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, probably then, as later, the text most in use, he prepared a *gaṇṭhipadattha* or gloss on the difficult words in that famous work. Ñāṇavara then glossed the ancient commentary Atthasālinī (of Buddhaghosa) in the same way. He also composed a work entitled Surāvinicchaya, a name suggesting Vinaya rather than Abhidhamma,[1] and another work for Vinaya students entitled Pātimokkhalekhana.[2] Afterwards, at the king's request, as we are told, the *ācariya* continued the work his predecessors had begun in the seventeenth century, and translated the Adhidhānappadīpikā [3] into the vernacular. His contemporary Sāradassi, also of Pagan, is mentioned as the author of a Dhātukathāyojana,[4] either a grammatical commentary or a translation of the Dhātukathā of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.

Ñāṇavara's next work, the Rājādhirājanāmattappakāsinī, seems to have been written not so much to instruct the unlearned as to please a royal patron. Its subject, 'the naming of kings,' with the reigning king's name as an example, was not important to the students in the monasteries. The purpose of the book was served, so far as we can see, when it had shown Ñāṇavara's scholarship and interested Mahārājādhipati himself. There is a sort of unconscious irony in the thera's essay when we see, as the gentle monk did not see, the approaching fate of the 'Lord of Kings', and know how ill he succeeded not only as king but as supporter of the faith. A ruler of quite different mettle was needed even to deal with the affairs of the Sangha now in a state of acute disaccord. Mahārājādhipati made mistake upon mistake. When his tutor Ñāṇavara, who held to the Pārupana practice, and the thera Pasaṃsa, of the Ekaṃsika sect, were

[1] See above, p. 46, and Sās., p. 81. The title is perplexing here, as it recalls Mahāparakkama's *Decisions concerning Intoxicants*, written at Taungu in the sixteenth century.

[2] P.TH., p. 43. The Pātimokkha, it will be remembered, is the fundamental code of rules, the whole duty of the monastic life, in a concise form. The ceremony of the *uposatha* days is a solemn undertaking of this rule of life by the assembled Sangha.

[3] See Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 105.

[4] P.TH., p. 41.

engaged in vigorous controversy, the king set an incompetent monk, a favourite of his own, over both the learned doctors. This monk is described as ignorant and incapable, 'knowing only enough to turn a plough's head to the east or the west,' yet the king, as the chronicle says, 'not knowing that this man was thus and so,' trusted him to regulate all matters of religion. The favourite proved unable to judge which of the two opposed views was false and which was true. 'He was,' says the chronicler, growing more and more indignant, 'like a buffalo, who knows no difference between the music of a celestial lute played by a Gandharva[1] and the striking of a bamboo stick by a village lad.' The situation was beyond Mahārājādhipati's own powers of arbitrating. He wished for peace, and sought for a compromise which might perchance last during his own lifetime. A royal decree was therefore issued, the substance of which was that every *bhikkhu* was to observe whatever practices he wished. Only one result could be expected. As the chronicler drily observes, 'their dispute did not subside then.'

But this was a time for graver preoccupations. The old discontent and hatred of Burma, that had been seething in Pegu for many years, had gradually mounted to the point of rebellion, while the Burmese were harassed by Manipuri invaders. In 1740 a king was elected in Pegu and the revolt became serious.[2] Prome was taken by the Talaings, and though their first king abdicated, another, Binya Dala, a brave soldier and able leader, was solemnly consecrated at Pegu city (Haṃsāvatī) in 1746.

From this time till the end of the eventful campaign that followed there is no literary history to record. A life-and-death struggle had begun between Talaing and Burman, and for some time the Order disappears from view in the people.

At first the Talaings were successful, and the Burmese lost

[1] The Gandharvas (Pali, Gandhabba) are demigods attendant on Dhatarattha, one of the four 'guardian gods' of the earth. The expression 'playing a lute near a buffalo' is quoted among the 'Burmese Proverbs, aphorisms, and quaint sayings' in Judson & Stevenson's excellent *Burmese Dictionary*, Appendix, p. 3.

[2] See Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 142 ff.

their capital and their king. But the fall of Ava in 1752 was a turning-point. With the first attempt to exact general submission to the new rulers and payment of taxes there arose an obscure captain determined to resist, a man with indomitable faith in himself and his countrymen. This man was the future king of Burma, Alaungpayā.

Our subject does not lead us far into the history of the national hero and his astonishing success, from the moment he collected his first little army till the day when, anointed king of Burma, he triumphantly gave his southern capital the name Rangoon (in commemoration of the war). Here we may be permitted to follow the Sāsanavaṃsa, which sums up Alaungpayā's campaigns and victories in a few words of homely imagery: 'he drove the armies of the King of Pegu forth from Burma as one might a famished bird from a field of grain.'[1]

For our chronicler the great feature of Alaungpayā's reign was the religious revival. Monks and laymen rejoiced in peace and safety under a king who was popularly believed to be the Bodhisat.[2] Alaungpayā was active in pious works, and determined that all his family, ministers, and nobles should follow his example. Great companies of the brethren were invited to the palace every *uposatha* day, and the members of the royal household had even opportunities for study. Whether zealous or not for Pali learning, they probably found it expedient to be studious.[3]

In this prosperous state of religion the Pārupana–Ekaṃsika controversy revived, and the Ekaṃsika school now had a good chance of making their practice prevail in the whole community. For the king's *ācariya*, Atula Yasadhamma, whose influence with Alaungpayā was great, was opposed to the stricter sect. The Sāsanavaṃsa assures us that Alaungpayā wished to go into the question thoroughly for himself, but, being too much absorbed in state affairs, he put off hearing

[1] Sās., p. 123; these events came about in the year 1113 of the Kali-yuga (=1751 A.D.) and the two years following.

[2] A future Buddha.

[3] Alaungpayā is remembered in the secular chronicles as a patron of literature. See J. Gray's *Dynasty of Alaungprā*, p. 13.

the two parties till graver matters were dispatched. In the meantime he decreed that the whole Order should follow the ruling of his own *ācariya*.

This command put the Pārupanas in a difficulty. They must either renounce what they held to be the only practice warranted by the scriptures or resist the king's authority. Most of them submitted, but a few stood firm. The most notable of the resisters was the thera Munindaghosa of Pagan,[1] who not only continued to observe the stricter rule but had a large following.

He is said to have declared in a full assembly of senior brethren that he was willing to die rather than forsake the precepts of his master. Alaungpayā was too much the Oriental despot to bear insubordination even from a *mahāthera*, and Munindaghosa was banished, as far as possible, from the region where his influence was felt. Quite undaunted he continued his teaching, and again a group of followers gathered round him. But in his banishment he was ready to turn from controversy and instruct his pupils in more abstract matters, for it was at this time that he translated the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha into Burmese. He seems to have gone on for awhile unmolested, but was afterwards summoned to Alaungpayā's presence to answer for his defiance, a summons which he obeyed with a full expectation of receiving the death sentence. So sure was he of the fate awaiting him that he put off his monastic habit before the encounter, with the magnanimous wish to lighten, in some sense, the guilt of the man who would shed his blood. The courageous monk's life was spared, but what happened to him we do not know. All that the chronicle adds to this strange incident is the fact that when Alaungpayā left for his last campaign in Siam Munindaghosa was in prison.

Alaungpayā never found the leisure from state affairs that would allow him to master Vinaya questions. "Disease was already undermining his wonderful vigour when he reached his forty-sixth year, and his unsuccessful attempt to conquer Siam in 1760 was the last undertaking of his life. When the

[1] Sās., p. 125.

Burmese army returned from the expedition they bore with them the dead body of their hero.

Alaungpayā was succeeded by his eldest son, Siripavaramahādhammarājā,[1] who rebuilt Sagaing[2] (Pali, Jeyyapura), while the old capital, Ava, was occupied by a rebel force. During this king's short reign an attempt was made by the Pārupana sect to convince the king that right was on their side. They had hoped much from the fact that Ñāṇa, or Ñāṇālaṃkāra, the royal preceptor,[3] was a Pārupana. But the astute Atula[4] was still leading the Ekaṃsika party, and his counter-tactics were successful enough to prevent unsettled points of discipline from being discussed before the king.

In the meantime Ñāṇa, who seems to have had little taste for controversy, won a reputation for profound knowledge. We are told, as a testimony to his untiring diligence, that he was capable of mastering or teaching nine or ten chapters[5] of Pali in a day. He had been a passionate student from his youth up. In the first year of his monastic life he composed a grammatical work called the Padavibhāga. It was followed by a series of commentaries, in Burmese, on the Nyāsa[6] and two Abhidhamma texts, the Yamaka and Mahāpaṭṭhāna (or Paṭṭhāna).

In 1763 Naung-doa-gyī died and was succeeded by his brother, who is usually known as Hsin-hpyu-shin (Pali, Setibhinda).[7] His accession gave promise of better times; among other

[1] Naung-doa-gyī, 1760–3. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 184. (Sās., the year 1122 K.Y.)

[2] Sās., p. 127.

[3] The king had brought this learned thera from Taungdwin to the capital (Sās., p. 127).

[4] Atula had been appointed Head of the Order by Alaungpayā. See 'A Preliminary Study of the Po: U: Daung Inscription', by Taw Sein Ko (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii, p. 8).

[5] Literally, *bhāṇavara* section for recitation; see Sās., p. 127.

[6] See above, pp. 20, 21.

[7] Sās., p. 128; Kaliyuga 1125 (the date is given incorrectly in the printed text *kaliyuge pañcavassādhike dvisate sahasse sampatte*); Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 186. See also Taw Sein Ko, 'A Preliminary Study of the Po: U: Daung Inscription' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii, pp. 1 ff.). The Po: U: Daung inscription, engraved in a cave near Prome, is interesting as commemorating the consolidation of the Burmese power in Further India at this period.

auspicious changes for the Order was the rebuilding of Ava (Ratanapura), which was reoccupied as the capital in 1766.

The Sāsanavaṃsa passes over this reign very briefly, and we must look to other sources for mention of the literary work done. The king's tutor, Jambudīpa-Anantadhaja, is merely named, and we may guess from this that he was either of the Ekaṃsika sect or took no interest in establishing the Pārupana practices. He was the author of a grammatical commentary (composed in 1768) on the Vinayavinicchaya.[1] Either Setibhinda or his *ācariya* (the wording of the chronicle leaves it in doubt which of the two) did nevertheless take strong measures against some doctrinal heresy which began to spread in Burma about this time. The heretics were summoned before the head of the Sangha and 'made to accept' the true doctrine—how, we are not told.[2]

Hsin-hpyu-shin is said to have been a generous patron of literature, and, though a good Buddhist, he showed a certain enthusiasm for Brahmanic learning and had a number of Sanskrit works translated into Burmese. The list of these books, according to Forchhammer, begins with Vopadeva's Sanskrit Grammar,[3] and contains, besides, works on astrology, palmistry, medicine, and erotics.[4]

In 1776 Mahādhammarājādhirājā (otherwise Sing-gu-sā),[5] the nineteen-year-old son of Hsin-hpyu-shin, succeeded and reigned for a few years. He had but little time or peace for religious works, but it happened that, coming under the influence of Nandamāla, a monk of great learning and authority on monastic questions, he became deeply interested in the Pārupana–Ekaṃsika dispute. The chronicle tells us that the young king dreamed a strange dream. The great

[1] There is, I believe, a MS. of this work in the Neville Collection at the British Museum. The Vinayavinicchaya was by Buddhadatta of Ceylon. Sās., p. 33; P.TH., p. 43; GV., p. 59.

[2] Sās., p. 128.

[3] The Mugdhabodha, written in the thirteenth century; see A. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., p. 243.

[4] See Forchhammer in Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, part iv, Introductory Remarks, pp. ix, xiv; also J. Gray, *Dynasty of Alaungprā*, p. 24, and *Niti Literature of Burma*, pp. 6 and 134.

[5] Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 209.

god Sakra, clothed in white and adorned with white blossoms, came to him and told him how, on the bank of the 'Nammada River in the Aparanta Country',[1] the sacred footprints of the Buddha were concealed by the wild growth of the jungle, 'root bound up with root, trunk with trunk, and leaf with leaf.' Former kings in their ignorance had left the place overgrown and neglected, but on him whom the god had enlightened fell the duty of clearing it. The dream was explained to the king by a monk, who no doubt told him of Nandamāla, the eminent teacher. The king at once sent for Nandamāla and thenceforth kept the thera near him. Nandamāla seized the opportunity of explaining the Pārupana–Ekaṃsika controversy, and convinced Mahādhammarājādhirājā that only the Pārupanas had the authority of the sacred texts on their side. The king summoned both parties to hold a debate before him, in which the Ekaṃsikas were hopelessly defeated, and a royal decree was issued imposing the Pārupana discipline on the whole Order. Nandamāla was appointed Supreme Head.[2] It was probably at this time that he wrote the Sāsanasuddhidīpikā (expounding "the purity of religion", or "religious reform").

When a young man, shortly after his ordination, he had translated some ancient and authoritative Pali works, the Vinayavinicchaya,[3] Suttasaṅgaha,[4] and Mahāvaggaṭṭhakathā,[5] into Burmese. Nandamāla's name is not associated with any work on the Abhidhamma. Perhaps his preference for Vinaya

[1] See C. Duroiselle's *Notes sur la géographie apocryphe de la Birmanie àpropos de la Légende de Pûrṇa*, BEFEO., tome v, pp. 146 ff. A *cetiya* had been built in the seventeenth century to mark the place of these footprints, first rediscovered by the saintly *ācariya* of Salvan-min-tara (1629–48).

[2] His official name thenceforth was Narindābhidhajamahādhammarājādhirājaguru.

[3] See above, p. 38.

[4] See Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 80. The Suttasaṅgaha is an anthology from the Suttas, Vimānavatthus (legends of the celestial abodes), etc.

[5] Probably Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Mahāvagga section of the Dīghanikāya. The text of the Mahāvagga had been interpreted by Ariyālaṃkāra; see Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 69. The Mahāvagga mentioned may, however, be the section of the Vinaya called by that name.

studies[1] influenced his pupils, and had the effect of bringing under discussion questions which had been less prominent in the last reign. We might suppose, too, that his authority would have sufficed for a settlement of the Pārupana–Ekaṃsika dispute, but this, as we shall see, was yet to be delayed awhile.

We can now go on to the reign of the famous Bodōpayā,[2] concerning ourselves chiefly, as the Sāsanavaṃsa does, with its religious events, and passing over its sinister beginning, in the midst of conspiracy and murder. Alaungpayā's fifth son was soon established firmly on the throne. The opening years of his reign showed the peculiarities that were to distinguish it to the end—reckless shedding of blood and lavish building of pagodas. His benefactions to the Order—those of the royal family and nobles are recorded in the chronicle as coming from him—were enormous. The chronicler writing in the nineteenth century and the learned Ñāṇa, who held the post of Supreme Head of the Order in Bodōpayā's own time, both paint the king in colours through which we can see but a dim outline of the truth. Bodōpayā's personality has not lacked describers, and surely has never had one more indulgent than the good Saṅgharājā, to whom was given the task of commemorating the king's *abhiseka* (consecration, literally anointing) in his new capital, Amarapura.[3] Ñāṇa, or Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, had only been ordained seven years when he was summoned to live near the king and officiate as *rājaguru*. Naturally he soon had a royal commission to fulfil, and his learning was brought to bear on the subject of the consecration ceremony. He translated a treatise on the subject, the Rājābhisekagandha, into Burmese.[4] He was probably not the author of the original work, but revised it after consulting ancient authorities.

[1] The Pitakatthamain (p. 43) mentions a commentary on the Vinayasaṅgaha written by the *ācariya* of King Sin-gu at Ratanapura (Ava). The Vinayasaṅgaha was one of the famous treatises consulted by Dhammaceti, see above, p. 38, and of Sās., pp. 33, 43.

[2] Bodōpayā came to the throne in 1782: Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 209; Sās., p. 130 (1143 Kaliyuga).

[3] Amarapura, about 6 miles from Ava, was occupied as the capital in 1783 (Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 211; Sās., p. 132).

[4] Sās., p. 131. Ñāṇa is said to have 'purified' the Rājābhisekagandha. The Pali word used (*parisodhetvā*) applied to a text means correcting and clearing away interpolations.

The thera then received the sonorous name Ñāṇābhisāsanadhajamahādhammarājaguru as a further token of the royal favour.

In a few years he became the leading personage in the Burmese fraternity. Bodōpayā bestowed monasteries, built by different members of his family, upon several theras renowned for learning, gave to four aged and eminent theras the title *saṅgharājā* (sometimes translated 'bishop'), and afterwards appointed four others with the same title to help them in their charge. Ñāṇābhivaṃsa was then placed at the head of all, and entrusted with the reforming (or, to use the chronicler's expression, the 'purifying') of the religious world. This was a decisive moment for the controversy that had so long divided the Order. As we have seen in other reigns, the views of the king's chief *ācariya* were most important in those vexed questions which were usually settled by the king, and which, under a ruler of Bodōpayā's temperament, would certainly be settled without much discussion. And now the Ekaṃsikas saw that they had not much to hope from their old leader Atula. He had been passed over by Bodōpayā after holding the post of king's *ācariya* since the reign of Alaungpayā. But before Ñāṇa arrived at the height of his honours and dignities Atula made another determined attempt to win the king over. He wrote a memoir to show that the practices of the Ekaṃsika sect had been taught by no less an authority than the great Moggallāna,[1] who, he maintained, had composed a text called the Cūḷaganṭhipada. How might all this be known, Atula's opponents inquired. It was explained, he replied, in a text known as the Piṭakattayalakkhaṇagandha, brought to Burma from Ceylon by Buddhaghosa. But the Pārupana theras had only waited long enough to let their adversary involve himself thus far to this point, and in a few words they denounced the fraud to the assembly. The text on which the Ekaṃsikas depended, said they, was a treatise called Vinayaganṭhipada,[2]

[1] The Arahat Moggallāna, one of the Buddha's chief disciples; see Sās., p. 136.

[2] There is a Vinayaganṭhipada in Forchhammer's *List*, p. v. The author given is the Siṅhalese priest Joti.

of the twelfth century, written in Ceylon by a thera Moggallāna living in the reign of Parakkamabāhu,[1] therefore centuries later than the time of Buddhaghosa, not to speak of the ancient days of the Arahat Moggallāna.

The story of the debate is brief, except in the description of the dramatic moment when the feeble fraud was brought home to Atula. He was, says the chronicler, like a wild animal caught in the hunter's trap. But the Pārupanas pressed him with more questions: was the Cūḷaganṭhipada mentioned in the three great Vinaya ṭīkās (the Vajirabuddhi-ṭīkā, the Sāratthadīpanī, and the Vimativinodanī)?[2] The unwary Atula replied that it was. How comes it then, said his opponents, that in your Cūḷaganṭhipada we find the words 'thus says the Vajirabuddhiṭīkā, the Sāratthadīpanī, thus says the Vimativinodanī'? Another pitiable defeat for the champion of the Ekaṃsikas. As the Pārupanas said, the text he had chosen as his refuge had proved to be a peril, and the quaint story of the singer Pāṭali is told to illustrate the case.[3]

This was the end of the Pārupana–Ekaṃsika controversy. The partisans of the Cūḷaganṭhipada might perhaps have made another stand, but Bodōpayā was in no mind for long debates. He promptly issued a decree that the Pārupana practices were to be considered orthodox and observed by the whole Order; and he was obeyed.

[1] The Parakkamabāhu mentioned is probably the Saṃghabodhi-Parākramabahu, 1153–84, who summoned a council at Anurādhapura; see Kern, *Man. Ind. Buddh.*, p. 132.

[2] For these three works see Sās., pp. 33, 34; GV., pp. 60, 61; P.TH., pp. 28, 29. The Sāratthadīpanī, according to Siñhalese and Burmese tradition, was written by Sāriputta at the request of Parakkamabāhu. Vajirabuddhi and Kassapa, the author of Vimativinodanī, also represent Ceylon tradition, so greatly venerated in Burma.

[3] Pāṭali (Naṭapāṭali), excited by drink after a successful performance, was swept away by the current of the Ganges while attempting to cross. His wife, certainly with unusual presence of mind, cried out to him from the river-bank to teach her a song before he should perish, as she must needs earn her own living thenceforth. The luckless actor, whose lute, as it filled with water, was rapidly weighing him down, had only time for a few words of lament—that which was the refuge of the sick and afflicted, the water of Gaṅga, must, alas! be his death. (The story of Pāṭali occurs in the commentary on the Jātaka. See Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka, vol. iii, p. 507.)

Bodōpayā had a good share of his father's energy, but a cruelty and inhumanity, on which all accounts agree,[1] outweighed in him the qualities that make a leader of men. His belief in his own greatness amounted almost to mania, yet he could not inspire others with that belief as Alaungpayā had done. His attempts at foreign conquest and schemes for religious monuments, such as the world had never seen, failed, partly from the deep hostility and discontent his cruelty had aroused among his subjects. A few complacent scholars covered his name with eulogies during his lifetime, but the Order, as a body, refused to recognize his claim to be the future Buddha, and in this was consistent with the old tradition of monastic independence.

The story of Bodōpayā's unfortunate campaign in Siam in the years 1785 and 1786 does not much concern us. An interval of peace followed. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the oppressions of the government brought about a revolt in Arakan, and this led indirectly to the King of Burma's first relations with British India, the Burmese general having pursued the leaders of the rebellion into British territory.[2] One result of the Arakan rebellion was the awakening of a new ambition in Bodōpayā, namely, to annex that part of Eastern Bengal which had once belonged to Arakan.[3] He needed a pretext to send secret envoys to some of the native princes of India, and in his character of patron of literature he was able to make his negotiations with these possible allies appear to be missions to procure Sanskrit books.

Literature, at all events, gained by these schemes, for a considerable number of Sanskrit works were brought to the capital and some were translated.[4]

In the latter part of Bodōpayā's reign there was active intercourse between the Sanghas of Ceylon and Burma. Probably no ecclesiastic in Ceylon was more respected by the strictly

[1] Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 230, 231. [2] Phayre, pp. 220 ff.
[3] The King of Arakan extended his territory to Dacca about 1620, 'profiting by the confusion which then existed in the Mogul Empire.' Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 177.
[4] Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 224.

orthodox Siñhalese monks than Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, the Saṅgharājā of Burma. He is said to have been a 'great benefactor' to the group known as the 'Amarapura sect' or school, and the Amarapura school did in fact convey to Ceylon a number of Pali texts either of Burmese authorship or better known to the Burmese fraternity than to the Siñhalese.[1] A large number of these imported treatises deal with Abhidhamma subjects. Ñāṇābhivaṃsa himself was very active in Vinaya teaching. He lived in turn at each of the several monasteries bestowed on him by the king, directing the studies of the Order in 'the two Vibhaṅgas' (the Bhikkhu- and Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga, sections of the ancient Vinaya text treating in detail the code for monks and nuns).[2] He was the author of several works, in some of which we see the teacher and guardian of the doctrine, in others the royal preceptor, whose duties included writing edifying books at the king's request. Examples of Ñāṇa's more strictly religious works are (1) a ṭīkā entitled Peṭālaṃkāra[3] on the Nettipakaraṇa[4] and (2) a ṭīkā entitled Sadhujjanavilāsinī[5] on the Dīghanikāya. At the request of the king he undertook a Burmese translation of the Pali commentary on the Jātaka (the Jātakaṭṭhakathā). He is also the author of some short Pali works of the Jātaka type, narratives containing religious and moral teaching, the Catusāmaṇeravatthu, the Rājovādavatthu, the Chaddantanāgarājuppattikathā, and the Tigumbhathomana.[6] Last on the list comes the Rājādhirājavilāsinī, which deserves a few words of description. In the case of this particular work the king himself supplied the subject and some of the materials, and

[1] This is the case with many of the texts found in Ceylon and described by Mr. Nevill with the aid of Siñhalese scholars.

[2] Ñāṇa himself gave the example of the stricter rule of life. The Sāsanavaṃsa tells us that he continually observed at least one of the thirteen rules (technically called *dhutaṅga*) particular to the more ascetic among the recluses.

[3] Sās., p. 134; P.TH., p. 36.

[4] See above, pp. 5, 8.

[5] Sās., p. 134; P.TH., p. 33.

[6] Lit. 'Praise of the Tigumbha' (Sās., p. 135). The Tikumbha or Tigumbha *cetiya* is the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon. See Forchhammer, *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma*, part i, p. 17.

the royal command to put these into becoming shape was conveyed by an important official to the Saṅgharājā's monastery. The Brethren, as the rule or etiquette of the Order demanded, laid the charge on their Principal, who forthwith carried it out. How far Bodōpayā's eulogists flattered him is a question for impartial chroniclers of events to answer. In literary history the Rājādhirājavilāsinī is precious as a specimen of the 'elegant scholarship' of the time. This curious little Pali work, written, as explained above, on the occasion of Bodōpayā's consecration, is in prose, the prose of the school that had forgotten Buddhaghosa's lessons, or was determined to better them. It staggers under a weight of adjectives that seem meant to bewilder the reader with the display of the author's resources as each sentence brings its load along. An Indian model has been copied, and copied faithfully, except that there is little of the true Indian fantasy in all the decoration, while allusions to Buddhist legends are brought in with a curious sober carefulness, as precedents might be cited in a legal document.

Royal heroes of old days are called in as examples; Mahāsammata, the first king and the ancestor of the Sakya race, comes first, and after him a series of dim, mythical figures, whose presence in the prologue is the indispensable compliment to the *rājādhirājā* enthroned in Amarapura. With Aśoka begin historical allusions, and then come quotations from the Suttas, from the commentaries, from the ṭīkās, from the Mahāvaṃsa, from the Rājāsikkhāpada,[1] even a definition from the Saddanīti,[2] to bring forward all that traditional learning might have to say on the anointing (*abhiseka*) ceremony and its sacramental virtue. Launched upon this theme the author finds occasion to speak of everything that could shed glory on the 'righteous king' as a benefactor of his people and of religion. Ancient maxims are cited from Jātakas (for example, the Saṅkicca and Tesakuṇa Jātakas, in which the hero of the story, the future Buddha, discourses on the duties of kings). In the matter of religion Bodōpayā's achievements are all

[1] Obviously a well-known manual of the duties of kings.
[2] See above, pp. 16, 17.

recorded: he had settled the Pārupana–Ekaṃsika dispute, instituted reforms in all parts of his dominions,[1] he had received and returned a mission to Ceylon, he had brought images of the Buddha from conquered Arakan to his capital and received others from China, he had built *cetiyas* and celebrated great festivals of adoration. He had, indeed, done everything that befitted a monarch who aspired to be the Aśoka or the Duṭṭhagamini of Burma.

To this man, of all men, the symbols of power and the external show of magnificence were important, and it so happened that he had acquired an auspicious possession that exalted his more than normal self-satisfaction beyond measure. This was a white elephant, captured in the forests of Pegu, named Nibbānapaccaya, and conveyed afterwards with great pomp to the capital, where, if we judge from the Rājādhirājavilāsinī, it was the real hero of the *abhiseka* festival.

Bodōpayā's eulogist, obliged to say at least as much about the elephant as about the king, attacks the task with courage. He brings forward the traditional elephant lore embodied in the Hatthisutta[2] to show that every kingly quality and auspicious mark was possessed by Nibbānapaccaya. Perhaps we have no right to judge it all from our own point of view, but as we read we cannot but picture Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, after the sumptuous festival, sighing over his weary task.

For us the interest of the Rājādhirājavilāsinī is rather in the literary references than the matter or style, which are both tiresome. The author is very careful to show that he has not neglected secular any more than religious authorities on his subject. He draws from the literature of various periods and from many branches of learning. We pass from the ancient suttas to the fifth-century commentaries and to the later ṭīkās, from these to twelfth-century grammar, from the famous Elephant-book to the royal chronicle of Ceylon, from the Jātaka glossary, Jātakābhidhāna, to Sanskrit etymology and

[1] The 'five regions' Rāmañña, Kasmīra, Yonaka, Yavana, and Rakkhaṅga are mentioned.

[2] Lit. elephant-suttas (aphorisms), a well-known manual for elephant-trainers.

Brahmanic astrology and chiromancy.[1] But the author's favourite source is the Pali Jātaka itself. His work is adorned with verses and passages of the commentary on certain tales of this famous collection. In the tales selected the hero is almost invariably a righteous king or an elephant perfect in all points; among them the Alīnacitta,[2] the Sīlavanāga,[3] and Vessantara[4] Jātakas occur most frequently. The Tesakuṇa-jātaka,[5] the Dummedha,[6] Culapaduma,[7] and Ummagga[8] Jātakas also provide illustrations.

In this respect the Rājādhirājavilāsinī is a typical piece of Burmese literature, and charms us, in the end, for all its tediousness. For the Jātakas are a possession common to the religious community and the lay-world, the learned and the unlettered. From the days when they were rudely pictured on Taruk-pye-min's temple walls at Pagan[9] to the date of the latest editions we find in the British Government's Official List of Publications, the Jātakas have been a Bible to the Burmese. This comparison applies most aptly to the Jātakas of the Mahānipāta or Great Section (the last) of the Jātaka book, containing the longest narratives of the Bodhisat, and relating his deeds and golden sayings in his later existences either as a man or a god.[10] Their art is the old art of the Oriental tale-teller, with its mingling of unbridled fantasy and minute realism; their wisdom is the wisdom of old proverbs and maxims of the Indian people; their lesson the praise of the Teacher, the supremely gifted among men, the Bodhisat, playing many

[1] The Sanskrit Brihajjātaka and Sāmudrikalakṣana are quoted.
[2] See Jātaka, Fausböll's edition, vol. i, pp. 21 ff.
[3] Jātaka (Nidāna, p. 45), vol. i, p. 319.
[4] Jātaka, vol. vi, p. 479.
[5] Jātaka, vol. v, p. 109. In this charming tale the king's duties are expounded to him by the three birds he has adopted as his children.
[6] Jātaka, vol. i, p. 444.
[7] Jātaka, vol. ii, p. 115.
[8] Jātaka, vol. vi, p. 329.
[9] 1248–79 A.D. See A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Studien. Veröffentlichungen aus dem königl. Museum für Völkerkunde*, 1897, Band v, pp. 128–31.
[10] In passing we may mention the titles most familiar to every Burmese Buddhist from his childhood onward—the Temi, the Janaka, Suvaṇṇasama, Nimi, Mahosadha, Bhūridatta, Candakumāra, Nārada, Vidhura, and Vessantara Jātakas.

parts. The author of the Rājādhirājavilāsinī might be thought (by Bodōpayā) to be pointing to the virtues of the king who founded Amarapura, but Ñāṇābhivaṃsa knew that his readers would see in all a homage to the Lord Buddha. What these edifying legends are to the Burmese to-day they were when Ñāṇābhivaṃsa wrote, and to many generations before his. To understand the literature, 'serious' or popular, of Burma we cannot know the Pali Jātaka too well.

CHAPTER VI

THE PALI LAW-TEXTS OF BURMA — PALI LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY — MIN-DON-MIN AND THE FIFTH COUNCIL — THE ERA OF THE PRINTING-PRESS — CONCLUSION

Alaungpayā's conquest of the Talaings had been more than a feat of arms and establishing of military supremacy. He had set himself to crush the Talaing language and nationality. If the consequent inequality in culture between Upper and Lower Burma was, after all, less than we should expect,[1] the reason is to be sought in the past religious history of both provinces. The equalizing and unifying element in the states so often at war or in rivalry was, and had always been, the Buddhist religion and the Pali language. The kings who had ruled over the widest territory—Anorata, Dhammaceti, Bayin Naung, Ukkaṃsika, Alaungpayā, Hsinhpyu-shin, Bodōpayā—each in his turn and in his own way, had lent his power to the service of religion and encouraged scholarship. And even in the worst times of disorder and change there had been centres of learning where the Order could be comparatively at peace; there were always remote or protected monasteries here and there where old texts could be copied and new commentaries and treatises composed. The stream of learning flowed wherever a channel offered itself, and, whether in the north or the south, was often reinforced from Ceylon.

We have seen how the vigour and influence of the school named, after the place of its origin, the Sīhaḷasaṅgha, continued in Burma from generation to generation. On the other hand, the abundant vitality of the schools of Further India at the time of the eighteenth-century revival reacted on Ceylon, where the Burmese school known as the Amarapura sect

[1] It must be admitted that the last Census Report judges Upper Burma decidedly superior to Lower Burma in the matter of 'literacy', and mentions the Upper Burman *pongyī* for his 'share in the labours of the past' (E. Lowin, *Report on the Census of Burma*, 1901, p. 65).

introduced a number of texts either new to the Siñhalese brethren or long fallen out of mind.

The intimate connexion, religious and literary, between Ceylon and Burma from the eleventh century onwards needs no further illustration. Though the Buddhists of Indo-China have attempted to appropriate Buddhaghosa, they have always, in all their literary chronicles, done ample and painstaking justice to Siñhalese scholarship and honoured Siñhalese names. Siñhalese influence is seen at its strongest in the earlier periods. When we come to the end of the eighteenth century we find that a branch of Pali literature has developed in Burma owing nothing or very little to Ceylon and bearing deep traces of a purely Indian origin. We come, that is, to the period of redaction of Pali Dhammasatthas (Sanskrit *dharmaśāstra*) or law-codes, of which some were first drawn up after Alaungpayā's conquest of Pegu and during the reorganization of the greatly extended kingdom of Burma. Others, as we shall see, were more ancient and had been the patrimony of the Talaings.

These ancient codes of Burma, and, with certain differences, the Pali law-texts of later times, are based on Hindu *dharmaśāstras*, Manu,[1] and others. This has become clear from the researches of various scholars whose opinions are given by Sir John Jardine, formerly chief Judicial Commissioner for Burma, in his *Notes on Buddhist Law*, where he adds much precious material from his own stores of learning and experience of Indian and Burmese law.[2]

His collaborator, Dr. Forchhammer, came to the conclusion that the Talaing States became political dependencies of powerful Hindu colonies existing in Pegu before the eleventh century, and adopted Hindu codes from them.[3] We cannot venture here to do more than record the Burmese tradition.

[1] See *The Laws of Manu*, translation by G. Bühler with introduction, SBE., vol. xxv, and J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, Grundriss, ii, 8.

[2] The Burmese 'Dhammathats' are the base of Buddhist law as now administered in Burma. 'The Pali scholar,' says Sir John Jardine, 'ought to have preceded the judge.' Sir John Jardine himself called the Pali scholar to the judge's aid, most fortunately for those interested in the Pali literature.

[3] *Jardine Prize Essay*, pp. 38, 62, 63.

The vexed question of ancient origins is a subject for a more elaborate study and more competent treatment than is possible in the present essay. We will now touch very briefly on the main points in the history of the Pali law-texts of Burma, as traced by the two learned authors mentioned.

We have already spoken [1] of the ancient Dhammavilāsa compiled in Pali by the Talaing monk Sāriputta of Patīppajeyya near Dala [2] about the year 1174 A.D., when Narapati-si-thu reigned at Pagan.

We come next to the Wagaru Dhammasattha,[3] compiled by the king of that name reigning at Martaban in 1280. It is typical and important. Forchhammer in his learned study of this text makes a careful comparison between the Wagaru and the Hindu Manu and other ancient codes, chiefly Yājñavalkya [4] and Nārada.[5] The comparison brings out clearly the pervading Indian element in the code; at the same time the translator finds material for some very interesting observations on the radical difference between the Buddhistic law, of which this is the first noteworthy document, and the Brahmanic law, from which the Talaing code takes its form and most of its provisions. This difference is in the spirit. The Vedic, sacerdotal element has vanished from the Wagaru. For instance, sacraments (such as marriage), the efficacy of sacrifice, the possibility of expiation by penance, are all an essential part of Brahmanic law. But the Buddhist lawgivers ignored the sacramental view of marriage, and based their theory of punishment on the doctrine of *karma*, which, as will be remembered, takes the past and future existences of the individual into account. With this doctrine in mind they thought out a system of legislation to defend the social order without inflicting what must be, according to their theory, unjustified,

[1] See above, p. 33.

[2] Opposite Rangoon. See J. Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv, Introductory Preface by E. Forchhammer, p. 5; and *Notes*, pt. vii, Preface by J. Jardine, p. 1.

[3] Translated by E. Forchhammer as part of the Jardine Prize Essay in 1885; Rangoon, Government Printing Press.

[4] A. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., pp. 267, 299.

[5] A. Weber, op. cit., p. 296.

useless, illogical penalties. Their system is described as a civil code punishing every crime or offence with fines, demanding 'compensation which is proportionate to the amount of damage occasioned by one person to another'. 'Morally no punishment can be inflicted,' says Forchhammer, 'because in the Buddhist's belief every deed will with unerring certainty bring its own definite reward or punishment, which cannot be increased or diminished by the appreciation or condemnation of other beings.'[1] Forchhammer's study of the Wagaru led him to believe that the Talaing law-code, Indian in origin, reflects the social and religious conditions of ancient India during the supremacy of Buddhism,[2] and can claim to belong to a Buddhist Mānava school earlier than the well-known Brahmanic recension of Manu.[3] The translator of the Wagaru, unhappily, did not live to follow up the researches he had begun, and by which he might have found a firm foundation for this theory. It remains an interesting conjecture. We must leave it for the present where he left it, to trace the stages of development through which the Pali and Burmese Dhammasatthas passed, from the predominance of the Hindu Institutes preserved by the Talaings to the victory of the Buddhist tradition embodied in the later codes, where the Vinaya- and Suttapiṭakas are the authority and the Jātaka supplies precedents and examples.

The Wagaru was translated into Pali in the sixteenth century by a Talaing jurist with the auspicious name of Buddhaghosa.[4] 'With him,' Forchhammer says, 'begins the authenticated history of Burmese Dhammathats.' Buddhaghosa's Manusāra is a Pali translation of the Wagaru Dhammasattha, till then only known in the Talaing language.[5]

In the seventeenth century another code, the Manu-Yin,[6] was

[1] See *Jardine Prize Essay*, pp. 61, 62.

[2] For a description of these conditions see Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India* ('Story of the Nations' series), 1903.

[3] See *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 38.

[4] Needless to say, the Buddhaghosa of commentary fame profits by the coincidence. The Talaing tradition makes the indefatigable sage the bearer of Hindu law-books to Rāmañña in the fifth century (*Notes*, pt. iii, p. x).

[5] See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. viii, p. 2.

[6] Manoo Reng. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, Introd. Remarks, p. xii.

compiled in verse. It is in substance the Wagaru Dhammasattha, but contains additional matter from the *hpyatton* or 'decisions', that is, Burmese ancient customary law, purely Buddhistic and founded chiefly on certain Jātakas.[1] A seventeenth-century version of the Dhammavilāsa Dhammasattha, dated 1650[2] and drawn up by a second Dhammavilāsa, is also called a Manu Dhammasattha; very characteristic of the later period is the introduction of a Buddhist element, absent in the Talaing original, for instance, quotations from the Dhammapada.

The next stage in the history of the law-texts is one of marked change and development. Alaungpayā had proved himself a pitiless destroyer, but he proposed to build up a sound administration for his new kingdom. Some law-codes were compiled at his command, a Manu-Yin in 1756, the important Manu-Kyay in 1758–60,[3] and a third, the Darajjavitāraṇī. The Manu-Kyay exists only in the Burmese version,[4] but belongs to Pali literature by the fact that it is largely grounded on canonical Pali texts, namely, Jātakas (the Mahosadha and Vidhura and other extracts from the Suttapiṭaka), the Milindapañha, the Samantapāsādikā (Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya), the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī (commentary on the Pātimokkha), the Visuddhimagga, and the Sāratthadīpanīṭīkā.[5] By the time Burmese law is crystallized into this famous code and the hardly less famous Manuvaṇṇanā,[6] we can see how

[1] The Vidhura and Mahosadha Jātakas are examples of Jātakas dear to the Buddhist lawgiver. See, for the Burmese version of the famous Vidhura Jātaka, the translation by Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John in JRAS., 1896.

[2] *Notes*, pt. iv, p. 5, and pt. vii, p. 2.

[3] See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv, Introd. Preface, p. 4. The author was Bhummajeyya Mahāsiri Uttamajeyya. Sir John Jardine points out resemblances between the law of marriage and divorce in the Manu-Kyay and the Hindu code, Vyavaharamayukha, in force in the Dekkhan (*Notes*, pt. iv, p. 10).

[4] Published at Moulmein and translated into English by Dr. Richardson in 1847.

[5] Ṭīkā on the Vinaya, by Sāriputtara, written in the reign of Narapati-si-thu. P.TH., p. 38; Forchhammer, *List*, p. iv. See also *Notes*, pt. iii, Introd. Remarks, p. 12, and pt. iv, Introd. Preface, pp. 4 and 5.

[6] The Manuvaṇṇanā Dhammasattha was published in 1898 by Colonel Horace Brown. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. ii, p. 1.

the spirit of Buddhist ethics has permeated the Dhammasatthas and supplied the place of those religious sanctions which we can hardly imagine absent from an Indian legal text. The Manu-Kyay professes a respect for learning; only such men, it says, should be made judges who are acquainted with the Piṭakas and the Vedas.[1]

Hsin-hpyu-shin followed the example of his father, and by his order several law-books were written between 1766 and 1774; among these were the Manusāra-shwe-myin, the Manuvaṇṇanā,[2] and the Viniccḥayapakāsanī. The author, Vanna-kyaw-din, was a pupil of the Saṅgharājā Jambudīpa-Anantadhaja. He is said to have been still a member of the Order when he wrote the first-named work. A poetical version of the Manu-Yin mentioned above, known as the Manuyinlaṅkā, is ascribed to him. The aid of theras learned in the Tripiṭaka was thought necessary by this time, and we are told that the monks Tejosara, Chandapanna, and Toungdwin Kyaw assisted the council of jurists called together at Ava by Hsin-hpyu-shin.[3]

An example of a modern law-text is the Mohavicchedanī,[4] written in the year 1832 by Rājabala-kyaw-din. It is composed in Pali verses (*gāthā*). Forchhammer has an interesting note on this work, in which he says: 'It differs in one important point from all other Burmese law-books. Manu the Rishi [i.e. sage] has entirely disappeared. Rājabala-kyaw-din, aware probably of the incongruity of placing Manu in the Buddhist pantheon, as had been done by the jurists of the Alompraic period, and not finding any reference in the Buddhist scriptures that could support Manu in the dignity

[1] *Notes*, pt. iv, Introd. Preface, p. 7; on the Vedas, see above, pp. 50, 51.

[2] There is a rather significant difference between the Burmese and Pali versions of the Manuvaṇṇanā. In the former there are frequent allusions to the Vyākaraṇas and other works translated by the king's command from the Sanskrit (on astrology, palmistry, medicine, and erotics). These references are absent from the Pali version, which, composed by a monk, shows the influence of the author's monastic traditions.

[3] At this council was prepared the Laṅkasāra (the collective name by which the Manuvaṇṇanā and Manusāra are known). See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv, Introd. Preface, p. 5.

[4] See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. vi, p. 1. Note by Forchhammer and translation by Maung Theka Phyoo of the Law of Inheritance according to the Mohavicchedanī Dhammathat.

of a lawgiver to a Buddhist community, broke with the past traditional history of the law-books of his country; he says in the introduction that, obedient to the request of his king, he proceeds to unfold the law, as it was preached by the all-wise Buddha in his great compassion for the ignorance of men and recorded originally in the Magadha language, the first of all languages, the mother of all other tongues (*mūlabhāsā*) . . . The text of the Mohavicchedanī is the somewhat rearranged but otherwise identical material of the Manu Dhammathats.'

Pali has never become to any great degree the language of things secular; its destiny seems to be to return to the service of religion. In the legal texts we notice the use of the Pali language (1) to preserve a Hindu tradition derived from the Talaings, (2) to consecrate Burmese customary law which could, we may suppose, be codified equally well in the Burmese idiom. The classic literary language, naturally chosen in such cases as the attribute of awe and majesty befitting the written code, is here also the reminder of the debt that Burmese custom and law owe to Buddhism. An excellent example of Buddhist influence is the change in the wife's legal position. But the Pali law-texts are full of other interesting matter. The few above mentioned could not be left out of an account, however summary, of the Pali books of the Burmese. The place due to them has of necessity been curtailed in this sketch. In leaving them, however, to pass on to the religious literature of the nineteenth century the writer dares to hope that this branch of Oriental history and its problems will attract scholars again as they fortunately did some years ago, with the results only too briefly indicated above.

We must now return to the history of monastic scholarship in Burma.

Bodōpayā died in 1819. He was succeeded by his grandson Hpa-gyī-doa.[1] 'He commenced his reign well,' says Phayre.[2] 'He remitted some taxes for three years, and in a speech to his courtiers promised to rule justly and to follow the precepts

[1] Sivitribhavanādityapavarapaṇḍitamahādhammarājā, Sās., p. 142.
[2] *History of Burma*, p. 232.

of religion.' The Sāsanavaṃsa is at pains to show that he consulted learned monks and ministers on various questions concerning the king's duty to the fraternity, the perpetuity of grants of land for religious purposes, and so forth. These discussions led to much research in ancient texts. On one of those occasions a minister, who was an authority on the Vinaya, laid down the principle that lands granted by kings in former times, for the building of *cetiyas* and *vihāras*, should be perpetually reserved to the Order. He fearlessly sought a precedent as far back as the time of the Buddha Sujāta, and the king was entirely satisfied.[1]

Hpa-gyī-doa was a respecter of tradition. Under his auspices the modern Rājavaṃsa (chronicle of the kings) was compiled at Pagan.[2] His preceptor Paññāsīha[3] was appointed Supreme Head of the Order. There is no mention in the Sāsanavaṃsa of any books written by him.

Hpa-gyī-doa's time, either as a patron of the Order or as 'lord of kings', was very short. In 1824 war was formally declared by the British Government against Burma, and two years of desperate fighting followed. The death of his general Mahābandula broke the Burmese king's courage. The queen and other partisans of war had perhaps inspired him till then with some hopes of victory, but the British occupation of Rangoon, Pegu City, and Arakan dealt these hopes a mortal blow. In 1826 the Burmese submitted, and the treaty of Yandabō was signed.

Hpa-gyī-doa saw his kingdom reduced and his power crippled. Something in this man failed then, where his forerunners Alaungpayā and Bodōpayā would have risen up in another effort. He sank into listless melancholy and inefficiency, and in 1837 was deposed by his younger brother Tharāwadi-min.[4]

Tharāwadi-min, who died insane, showed in his earlier days

[1] Sās., p. 145.

[2] In 1830. It was printed in the reign of Min-dōn-min. See E. Huber, BEFEO., tome iv, pp. 494 seq.

[3] Of Salin-myo, afterwards Munindābhisirisaddhammadhajamahā-dhammarājādhirājaguru.

[4] Siripavarādityalokādhipati, 1837. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 287; Sās., p. 146.

great respect for the Order. His first preceptor, Suriyavaṃsa, was proclaimed Supreme Head by a royal decree. When this thera died he received, the Sāsanavaṃsa tells us, extraordinary funeral honours. His pupil Ñeyyadhamma was then appointed Saṅgharājā; it was he who received at Amarapura an important Siñhalese mission, including the learned Paññātissa and some others. Ñeyyadhamma's pupils were numerous, and he was an enthusiastic teacher. As the chronicler says,[1] 'in order that religion might long endure and that his hearers might easily arrive at full comprehension, he, with the aid of various books, revised the text of the Saddhammapajotikā, commentary on the Mahāniddesa, and made a translation thereof into Burmese.'[2]

The Sāsanavaṃsa does not mention any other scholars of this reign.

Tharāwadi-min's son and successor, Pagan-min,[3] only appears in the Sāsanavaṃsa to mark the date of some eminent scholars of the time, among whom Ñeyyadhammābhivaṃsa is mentioned as the author of a Burmese translation of the Saddhammavilāsinī,[4] the commentary on Paṭisambhidāmagga (of the Khuddakanikāya). Ñeyyadhammābhivaṃsa's chief pupil, Paññāsāmi, a young monk of five years' standing, began his scholarly career at this time. His work as a chronicler (he was the author of the Sāsanavaṃsa) is of special interest for us. His first essay was a translation into Burmese of a commentary on difficult passages (Gaṇṭhipadatthavaṇṇanā) of the venerable grammatical work Saddatthabhedacintā.[5] Ten years later, after much labour and comparison of texts, he produced a revised edition of the commentary on the Abhidhānappadīpikā[6] and translated it into Burmese.

[1] Sās., p. 148.

[2] The commentary on the Mahāniddesa (the eleventh book of the Khuddakanikāya) was composed in Ceylon by Upasena. Sās., p. 33; GV., p. 70.

[3] Siripavarādityavijayānantayasamahādhammarājādhirājā, 1846, Sās., p. 148. He is described briefly but so drastically by Yule, in the Mission to the Court of Ava, that we can hardly be surprised at the silence of the Sāsanavaṃsa.

[4] By Mahānāma of Ceylon. Sās., p. 33.

[5] See above, pp. 20, 22.

[6] See above, p. 27.

Paññāsāmi succeeded his master as Saṅgharājā in the following reign. It is rather curious that not a single Pali composition is mentioned by him as belonging to this decade. His colleagues were nevertheless very active, especially in translating from the Pali. The Aṅguttara-, Saṃyutta-, and Dīghanikāyas were translated with their commentaries. The authors of these translations were respectively Paññājotābhidhaja, Maṇijotasaddhammālaṃkāra, and Medhābhivaṃsa.[1]

We now come to the closing scene of the old Order in Burma. The last of the pious and zealous Burmese kings, perhaps the most sincere of all and the most single-minded in his support of religion, came to the throne. This was Min-dōn-min, whose reign, lasting from 1852 to 1877, was a period of peace, good government, and general content, while religion, we are told, was practised with a new enthusiasm not only in the monasteries but in every rank of the laity. The king's command and example, as of old, were all-powerful; and Min-dōn-min was not like Bodōpayā. His tutor and eulogist, the author of the Sāsanavaṃsa, says less of *cetiyas* and monasteries presented to the Sangha than of the vigour with which religious studies were carried on and the precepts of the Buddha observed.

These were golden days, if they are rightly reflected in the verses quoted by Paññāsāmi from his own poem, the Nāgarājuppattikathā,[2] written to commemorate the founding of the new capital Mandalay (Pali: Ratanapuṇṇa).[3] Paññāsāmi's Nāgarājuppatti has rather more artistic pretensions than the Rājādhirājavilāsinī, being composed in couplets (*ślokas*) throughout, whereas Ñāṇābhivaṃsa ventures into verse at the beginning and end of his work merely to give a few specimens of metres. The tone of the two works, however, is the same conventional eulogy, with quotations from the Jātaka and references to legendary and historic kings, Mahāsudassana, Mandhātu, Aśoka. Needless to say, this was an auspicious time for scholarship. Paññāsāmi, himself a prolific writer,

[1] Sās., p. 148.
[2] Sās., pp. 149, 153.
[3] Founded in 1857.

mentions the work of some of his contemporaries.[1] The Saṅgharājā Ñeyyadhamma composed 'at the king's request' a work entitled Surājamaggadīpanī. Meanwhile the old traditional learning was not neglected. The Saṅgharājā had been expounding the commentary on the Majjhimanikāya to his pupils. Under his direction a Burmese translation of the commentary was prepared, embodying his interpretation of the text.

The original text of the Jātaka tales was also translated at this time by the thera Medhābhivaṃsa.

Finally, we have a list of Paññāsāmi's own works with their dedications. 'At the request of the Queen-Consort' he composed two works entitled Sīlakathā and Upāyakathā, evidently of an ethical character. At the request of the king's tutor (a layman) he then wrote the Akkharavisodhanī, a treatise on Pali orthography, and the Āpattivinicchaya, on morality. Paññāsāmi's own preceptor, the Saṅgharājā, urged him, he tells us, to compose the Nāgarājuppattikathā above mentioned, the Vohāratthabheda and Vivādavinicchaya dealing with monastic discipline. For the edification of certain ministers, the *lekhakāmacca* and *ārocanalekhakāmacca*,[2] he wrote the Rājasevakadīpanī (on serving the king). Another work, the Nirayakathādīpaka,[3] was undertaken to please another *high* official. A distinguished layman requested him to write on the *uposatha* rules, and the monk composed the Uposathavinicchaya. Lastly, at the request of 'many of his hearers', he wrote a Pali commentary on the first Pali work that had brought honour to Burmese scholarship, the Saddanīti.

Thus the nineteenth century is linked with the twelfth, the history of Pali literature in Burma repeats itself. Perhaps the desire of these modern theras was before all to revive the ancient tradition as faithfully as possible. That certainly was Min-dōn-min's own ambition, and when he had gained for himself the title 'Convener of the Fifth Council' he treasured it thenceforth beyond all others.

[1] Sās., p. 514.
[2] Secretaries and officials charged with drafting and issuing royal decrees.
[3] Edifying stories of punishments in hell.

In 1868–71[1] a great assembly of learned monks and teachers was summoned together at the capital, where, the king presiding, they read or recited the sacred texts to restore the best readings. By the royal order a complete text of the Tripiṭaka was then engraved on stone tablets and placed in shrines. This traditional act duly recorded, we come to another of an importance perhaps little suspected by Min-dōn-min's counsellors—the inauguration of the first printing-press in Upper Burma.

In 1885 Min-dōn-min's successor lost his throne and the British Army occupied Mandalay. The palace and even the monastery libraries paid their tribute to the conquerors, who, fortunately, were careful (like Anorata) to bear their treasure to safe places, house it with honour, and keep it within the reach of inquiring scholars.

Of the changes brought about in Burma by the annexation we have no occasion to speak here. They affected the Buddhist religion and the Order very little. The author of *A People at School*[2] points out that the monks of Burma have ceased of late years to exert that direct influence in the affairs of the community which they are known to have used for good while Buddhist kings ruled, and that they have withdrawn more strictly into the cloistered religious life. But their spiritual authority with the people is by no means lessened, and of their literary activity we have abundant evidence in the multitude of modern Pali and Burmese works now printed in Burma. The elaborate official lists of publications in Burma issued by the Indian Government are also instructive and interesting from this point of view.

We cannot conclude our brief survey without a glance at this latest period, the era of the printing-press.

We must begin with Lower Burma, where, in consequence of the British occupation, printing was introduced earlier than in Mandalay. Here we find works by modern Burmese authors and reprints of ancient classics published in increasing numbers from 1870 onwards.

[1] *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, vol. i, p. 66; *Buddhism*, 1905, p. 425.
[2] See Fielding Hall, *A People at School*, pp. 255, 257.

There is little to be said about these works. We notice a number of new editions of short texts that have become household words with the laity, such as the Paritta[1] and the famous Maṅgalasutta,[1] Burmese translations of these and popular works such as the Lokanīti, Namakara, and Ratana-pañjara, the last two of which are devotional poems.[2]

Then we come to vocabularies, works of grammar and rhetoric, among which should be noticed the Kāvyasāratthasaṅgaha (1872), by a learned and prolific author, Chakkindābhisiri, and the Alaṅkāranissaya, of the Yaw-mya-sā Atwin-wun (written in 1880). This latter is an example of that care to preserve the old traditions of scholarship which we have already noticed, and which is still characteristic of the Burmese Palists. The Alaṅkāranissaya is an edition of Saṅgharakkhita's Subodhā-laṅkāra,[3] with a commentary.

In 1882 appeared the Lokanīti of Chakkindābhisiri, an ethical poem in Pali, published with a Burmese version. A characteristic little work of the same date is the Upāsaka-vinicchaya, a collection of Pali quotations on the religious duties of laymen. The collection was translated and commented in Burmese by a monk of Prome, Paññāraṃsi. A work bearing the Pali title Kammavinicchaya, but written in Burmese, may be mentioned here, as, fortunately for us, it has been studied and expounded in English by a Burmese scholar, Shwe Zan Aung.[4] The author's name is Sāgaravaṃsābhidhaja.

Modern works dealing with that standard work of metaphysic, the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, are very numerous. To take an example, a summary of this important text, with commentary by U Tin, was published at Maulmein in 1883 under the title Sarūpatthadīpanī; the Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaparitta, by Maung Tun Aung, in 1897; the Abhidhammatthasaṅgahagaṇṭhi-thit in 1898 (by U Tissa and U Janinda); and several issues of the text itself at various times.

[1] See above, pp. 3, 4.
[2] These poems reappear in several modern collections, such as the Hyauk saung twè, Hsay saung twè, etc.
[3] On rhetoric (*v.* JPTS., 1882, p. 55).
[4] *Buddhism*, October, 1905, vol. ii, No. 1, pp. 58 ff.

Jagarabhidhaja is a modern author who has written both grammatical and religious treatises. His works include the Dhammapāna-shu-bwè (moral and philosophical stanzas in Pali with Burmese interpretation, published in 1894), the Upāsakovāda (edifying discourses to the laity, 1894), the Ovādakathā, thè Navaniyamadīpanī (254 aphorisms on Pali grammar), and the Saddamedhanī (an essay on various terms of Pali grammar). The same author edited later (1903) the Pārājika and Pācittiya sections of the Vinaya, with Burmese interpretation. It is interesting to see that Jagarabhidhaja edited a passage from the Sanskrit Lalitavistara called the Kāmādinakathā.

A rather curious specimen of a modern work in another branch of Pali-Burmese literature is the Atthasālinīgaṇṭhi (or Atthasālinīgaṇṭhi-thit), published in Rangoon in 1900. This work, described as 'Notes on difficult points in Buddhist philosophy', is briefly analyzed as follows for the guidance of readers: 'A book of expositions on various subjects, namely, on the grammatical construction of the Tipiṭaka or the Buddhist scriptures; on the account of Kathāvatthu or book of controverted points; on the thirty events which always take place on the conception of an embryo Buddha; on the threefold divisions of the religion; on the six kinds of divine effulgence; on the relative heights of the Bodhi-tree and Buddha's throne; on the thirty-two signs manifested on the birth of embryo Buddha and on the promulgation of his law; on the solicitation of a divine communication of the hermit Sumedha at the hands of Dipankara Buddha regarding his future Buddhahood; on the principal causes of existence; on the derivation of the names of Sāriputtarā and Moggallāna; on the four kinds of lions; on the six Paññattis or manifestations; on the ten Pāramis or virtues; on the Catuparisuddhisīlam or four precepts of purity; on the four castes of the Brahmins; on the attributes of Buddhist Trinity; on the list of Rahans who convened the Buddhist councils; on the law of abstruseness; on the numerousness of existences; on the three kinds of Pahānas or getting rid of one's lust; on evil acts; on the three methods of teaching Buddhist scriptures; on the four

kinds of Acinteyya or incomprehensibles; on the names of the Pañcavaggi or the first five disciples of Buddha'; and other matters.

Treatises on *nirvāṇa*, arahatship, and the practice of meditation in its various stages leading to these ends, are numerous, for example: (1) the Visuddhimaggadīpanī-kyan (on the nature of religious meditation and methods of practising it, e.g. the Samathakammaṭṭhāna, Bhāvanākammaṭṭhāna, and Vipassanākammaṭṭhāna. 1900); (2) the Asaṅkhatadhammapakāsanī-kyan, by U Pyin-nya-thika. 1899, on the nature of *nirvāṇa* and the *upasamānussati* form of meditation leading thereto; (3) Sati we-bōn-la-shu-bwè, which explains the three kinds of death—*khaṇikamaraṇa* or the 'momentary death', which consists in the continual wearing away of the body and soul, *samutimaraṇa* or 'so-called death', the visible death to which all beings are subject, and the *samucchedamaraṇa* or 'cessation of existence', said of the death of Buddhas, Pacceka-Buddhas, and arahats.

We turn back with relief to the less perplexing points treated by the authors who confine themselves to Vinaya and grammar. The learned Visuddhācāra is an example. Among his works are the Kaccāyanavaṇṇanācakka-kyan, a treatise under six heads upon the introductory stanzas to Kaccāyana's grammar (published in 1896); the Dhātvatthasaṅgaha, an alphabetical digest of Pali roots and their meanings, in verse, with a Burmese translation; the Chandomañjari, a Pali treatise on metre, followed by a *nissaya* in Burmese (1897); and, departing to another subject, the Visuṃgāmasīmāvinicchaya, a treatise on the determination of village boundaries (1899).

Scholarship in the twentieth century followed the lines first traced as long ago as the twelfth century in Burma. Let us take as an example a learned monk of the most recent times, the venerable Ledi Hsaya-daw, and observe the subjects treated by him in various works published in Rangoon in 1905 and 1906. The list of the Ledi Hsaya-daw's works is long: Niruttidīpanī (a Pali grammar, and afterwards a Burmese *nissaya* on the same work), Nibbānadīpanī (a discourse on *nirvāṇa*), Rūpadīpanī (a treatise on Form), Bodhipakkhiyadīpanī, Ānāpānadīpanī, and Ovāda (the Way to Arahatship,

treatise on Meditation, and Book of Instruction), Pāramīdīpanī (on Virtue), Saddasaṅkhepa (a manual of Pali grammar), Pabbājaniyakammavācā (Pali stanzas for recitation as charms), Dhammadīpanī (exposition of the Law), Maggaṅgadīpanī (the 'Eightfold Path' explained), Paṭiccasamuppādadīpanī (reflections on the causes of transmigration), Paramatthasaṅkhepa (manual of Abhidhamma), Saccatthadīpanī (the Four Sublime Truths explained), Vijjāmaggadīpanī, Lakkhaṇadīpanī (the Way to Enlightenment, the Three Characteristics), Āhāradīpanī, Sīlavinicchaya (on Food and the Precepts of Morality), Anattadīpanī (on Mutability), Dānadīpanī (on Charity), and Dhammadesanā (religious teaching).

These works represent fairly well the fields where Pali flourishes to-day—dissertations on points of doctrine, homilies and exhortations, verses which may be called either charms or prayers, decisions on points of discipline, manuals of metaphysic, treatises on Pali grammar. To abundance of new works of this kind modern scholars now add a pious and most useful contribution, careful editions of the Tipiṭaka texts and commentaries.

A group of writings very insignificant in size, but interesting, or rather curious, from the mere fact of the Pali language being found in such a connexion, is the class of little works headed 'science' in the Pali-Burmese lists. The sciences in question are chiefly astrology and cosmography,[1] but medical treatises occur here and there. And this reminds us again of a field in Burma which merits diligent exploration. While the Pali literature represents vastly more than any other the influence of India on Further India, we should not pass over the fact that a store of Sanskrit learning by no means negligible has existed from time immemorial in that outlying country. This store was always held strictly in Brahmanic keeping. The kings of Burma were generally not only the nominal but real and energetic patrons of learning, and the Brahmans, at all times counsellors and soothsayers in the royal palaces, had an indirect influence on culture. Forchhammer encountered an extreme

[1] Examples are the Itthipurisa-aṅgavijjā-pakiṇṇaka-kyan, a handbook of divination on the formation of the hands and other parts of the body, and a ṭīkā on the Makarandaveda, a handbook of astrology.

reserve in the Hindu guardians of Brahmanic lore which baffled even his determination and patience as an inquirer. But his conclusion was that 'there exists a real Sanskrit literature in Burma written on paper like in India, with Nagari and Bengali characters. These records are in the hands of the descendants of Hindu colonists, who at different periods, some even before the spread of Buddhism in Burma, settled in this country'. He adds: 'Burma deserves to be drawn within the circle of those countries where researches of Sanskrit records ought to be made.'[1] And an eminent epigraphist has said very lately, 'we are beginning to obtain valuable records in Burma.'[2] Ancient links connect India with Burma; we can only hope to restore them gradually, and there are many questions which, with all its wealth of legend and chronicle, the Pali literature does not answer fully.[3]

The great historical service of the Pali literature is to show the peculiarly Buddhistic character of Burmese civilization. History in the modern and critical sense we cannot demand of it any more than we demand philology or biology treated with European methods. We need not consider here the possibility of adapting the Pali language to modern knowledge or critical discussion. The true Pali literature is traditional. We may read now, as in old days, of differences of doctrine or opposed schools in the Southern Buddhist community.[4] But these seem, from our far-off point of observation, to be a hardly perceptible eddy here and there in the calm main stream of Buddhist belief, as we see it in the

[1] Forchhammer, *Report on Literary Work*, 1879–80, p. 13.

[2] J. F. Fleet in *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 63: *The Imperial Gazetteer of India: The Indian Empire*; Oxford, 1907.

[3] To take one instance: the chronicles hand on an ancient tradition that a royal Kṣatriya tribe came from India at a very early period and founded an Indian dynasty in Upper Burma. European scholars cautiously admit that there was an Indian immigration by the northern route, but at what date and for what reason we do not know. See Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 3. Phayre points out that in Lassen's opinion the legend of an Indian dynasty is not quite without foundation. See Forchhammer, 'On the ancient Mahāmuni Pagoda in Arakan': *Report on Arakan*, p. 1.

[4] Differences in the sects are 'largely academic'. See *Burma*, vol. i, p. 41: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, Calcutta, 1908.

religious and scholarly literature of Burma. Having followed that stream back to its mediaeval sources, and yet further to its remote Indian origin, we cannot but feel impressed by the continuity of its progress, the force of its unbroken tradition. Buddhism in Burma has suffered nothing parallel to the Mohammedan invasion of India, but the history of Further India has been tempestuous enough. When we follow in the chronicles the struggle of those neighbour states, we must needs wonder at the Law that never failed, in the end, to dominate barbarism, to make customs milder and laws more just, to do away with barriers by raising men above them. Of that 'Righteous Law' as a social and intellectual influence the Pali literature is an almost complete embodiment. Thus, to use the ancient metaphor, India conquered Burma. Of all the conquests in history none has been more enduring or more beneficent.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

An Inscription of A.D. 1442

The inscription mentioned on p. 50 is among those collected by Forchhammer at Pagan.[1] It is dated B.E. 804 (1442 A.D.), and commemorates the bestowal of various gifts on the Order by the Governor of Taungdwin and his wife. Together with a monastery, garden, paddy-lands, and slaves, the pious donors offered a collection of texts, of which a list is given. The following list, copied from the inscription, is extremely interesting for more than one reason. Besides helping to fix the chronology of many Pali works and giving some indication of their importance, it gives us another clue well worth following up. We notice here a number of titles of Sanskrit works, sometimes greatly disguised in the Burmese transcription, but still recognizable. These will aid us to form some notion of the point reached by the Sanskrit scholars in Burma in the fifteenth century. We are not obliged to believe that each monastery contained students of Sanskrit, but we have at least some ground for supposing that certain famous works on grammar, prosody, medicine, and so forth were treasured in Upper Burma.

The discovery that the 'Vedas' found in Burmese, Talaing, and Siamese versions 'do not contain a trace of Vedic texts' inclined Forchhammer[2] to some scepticism as to the contents of palm-leaf MSS. bearing the titles of famous old treatises (e.g. the Suśruta). I think, however, that he is speaking of MSS. of a later date. I do not see any reason to doubt that the gift recorded in the Pagan inscription was a collection really containing the works mentioned and not their titles only.

References to Forchhammer's List indicate that MS. copies

[1] *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava.* Deciphered from the ink impressions found among Forchhammer's papers. Printed at Rangoon, 1902. Translated with notes by Tun Nyein, Government Printing Press, Rangoon, 1899. The inscription containing the list is mentioned by M. Pelliot in article 'Deux itinéraires', BEFEO., vol. v, p. 183.

[2] *Report*, 1879–80, p. 11.

of the works in question are in the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon. A few notes are added, but there is obviously room for many more suggestions and conjectures.

List copied from the Inscription.

1. Pārājikakaṇḍa.[1]
2. Pācittiyā.
3. Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga.
4. Vinayamahāvagga.
5. Vinayacūḷavagga.
6. Vinayaparivāra.
7. Pārājikakaṇḍa-aṭṭhakathā.
8. Pācittiyādi-aṭṭhakathā.
9. Pārājikakaṇḍa-ṭīkā.
10. Terasakaṇḍa-ṭīkā.
11. Vinayasangraha-aṭṭhakathā (the greater).
12. Vinayasangraha-aṭṭhakathā (the less).
13. Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-aṭṭhakathā.
14. Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā (ancient).
15. Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā (new).
16. Kaṅkhā-ṭīkā (new).
17. Vinayagaṇṭhipada.
18. Vinaya-uttarasiñcaya aṭṭhakathā.[2]
19. Vinayasiñcaya-ṭīkā (later).
20. Vinayakandhaniddesa.
21. Dhammasaṅganī.[3]
22. Vibhaṅga.
23. Dhātukathā.
24. Puggalapaññatti.
25. Kathāvatthu.
26. Mūlayamaka.
27. Indriyayamaka.
28. Tikapaṭṭhāna.
29. Dukatikapaṭṭhāna.
30. Dukapaṭṭhāna.
31. Atthasālinī-aṭṭhakathā.
32. Sammohavinodanī-aṭṭhakathā.
33. Pañcapakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā.
34. Abhidhamma-anuṭīkā.[4]
35. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha aṭṭhakathā.
36. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha ṭīkā.
37. Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī ṭīkā.
38. Sīlakkhandha.[5]
39. Mahāvagga.[5]
40. Pātheyya.[5]
41. Sīlakkhandha-aṭṭhakathā.
42. Mahāvagga-aṭṭhakathā.
43. Pātheyya-aṭṭhakathā.

[1] Nos. 1–20 are works belonging to or commenting on the Vinaya. (Edited by Hermann Oldenberg. Vinayapiṭakam, 5 vols., 1879, etc. Khuddasikkhā and Mūlasikkhā. See edition of E. Müller, JPTS., 1883.)

[2] *Sic* text of inscription. Read *sañcaya*, anthology or collection.

[3] Abhidhamma (Nos. 21–37). See Dhammasaṅganī, ed. E. Müller, Pali Text Society, 1885; Vibhaṅga, ed. Caroline F. Rhys Davids, PTS., 1904; Dhātukathā, ed. Edmund Gooneratne, PTS., 1892 (with comm.); Puggalapaññatti, ed. Richard Morris, PTS., 1883; Dukapaṭṭhāna and Tikapaṭṭhāna, ed. Caroline F. Rhys Davids, PTS., 1906; Kathāvatthu, ed. Arnold Taylor, PTS., 1894–7, 2 vols.; Atthasālinī (comm. on Dhammasaṅganī), ed. E. Müller, PTS., 1897.

[4] By Dhammapāla of Ceylon. Sās., p. 33.

[5] See Dīghanikāya (Nos. 38–46), ed. Rhys Davids and Estlin Carpenter, PTS., 1889, etc., 3 vols.

44. Sīlakkhandha-ṭīkā.
45. Mahāvagga-ṭīkā.
46. Pātheyya-ṭīkā.
47. Mūlapaṇṇāsa.[1]
48. Mūlapaṇṇāsa-aṭṭhakathā.
49. Mūlapaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā.
50. Majjhimapaṇṇāsa.[1]
51. Majjhimapaṇṇāsa-aṭṭhakathā.
52. Majjhimapaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā.
53. Uparipaṇṇāsa.
54. Uparipaṇṇāsa-aṭṭhakathā.
55. Uparipaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā.
56. Sāgāthāvaggasaṃyutta.[2]
57. Sāgāthāvaggasaṃyutta-aṭṭhakathā.
58. Sāgāthāvaggasaṃyutta-ṭīkā.
59. Nidānavaggasaṃyutta.
60. Nidānavaggasaṃyutta-aṭṭhakathā.
61. Khandhavaggasaṃyutta.
62. Khandhavaggasaṃyutta-ṭīkā.
63. Saḷāyatanavaggasaṃyutta.
64. Saḷāyatanavaggasaṃyutta-aṭṭhakathā.
65. Mahāvaggasaṃyutta.
66. Ekadukatika-aṅguttara.[3]
67. Catukanipāta-aṅguttara.
68. Pañcanipāta-aṅguttara.
69. Cha-sattanipāta-aṅguttara.
70. Aṭṭha-navanipāta-aṅguttara.
71. Dasa-ekādasanipāta-aṅguttara.
72. Ekanipāta-aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā.
73. Dukatikacatukanipāta-aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā.
74. Pañcādi-aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā.
75. Aṅguttara-ṭīkā [1].
76. Aṅguttara-ṭīkā [2].
77. Khuddakapāṭha text and aṭṭhakathā.[4]
78. Dhammapada text and aṭṭhakathā.
79. Udāna text and aṭṭhakathā.
80. Itivuttaka text and aṭṭhakathā.
81. Suttanipāta text and aṭṭhakathā.
82. Vimānavatthu text and aṭṭhakathā.
83. Petavatthu text and aṭṭhakathā.

[1] See Majjhimanikāya (Nos. 47–55), ed. V. Trenckner (vol. i) and Robert Chalmers (vols. ii and iii), PTS., 1888–1902.

[2] See Saṃyuttanikāya (Nos. 56–65), ed. Léon Feer. 5 vols. Vol. vi indices. By Mrs. Rhys Davids. PTS., 1884–98.

[3] See Aṅguttaranikāya (Nos. 66–76), ed. R. Morris (vols. i and ii) and Edmund Hardy (vols. iii–v), PTS., 1885–1900.

[4] See Khuddakanikāya and commentaries (Nos. 77–110); Khuddakapāṭha, ed. R. C. Childers, JRAS., 1870; Dhammapada, ed. V. Fausböll (1st ed., 1855; 2nd ed., 1900); Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, ed. R. Morris, PTS., 1882; Udāna, ed. Paul Steinthal, PTS., 1885; Itivuttaka, ed. E. Windisch, PTS., 1889; Suttanipāta, ed. V. Fausböll, PTS., 1884; Vimānavatthu, ed. E. K. Gooneratne, PTS., 1886; Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā, ed. E. Hardy, PTS., 1901; Petavatthu, ed. J. P. Minayeff, PTS., 1889; Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā, ed. E. Hardy, PTS., 1894; The Theragāthā and Therīgāthā, ed. H. Oldenberg & R. Pischel, PTS., 1883; Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā, ed. E. Müller, PTS., 1893; Jātaka and aṭṭhakathā, ed. V. Fausböll, 7 vols. Other texts are in course of publication by the Pali Text Society.

84. Thera(gāthā) text and aṭṭhakathā.
85. Therī(gāthā) text and aṭṭhakathā.
86. Pāṭhacariya.[1]
87. Ekanipātajātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
88. Dukanipātajātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
89. Tikanipātajātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
90. Catuka-pañca-chanipāta jātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
91. Satta-aṭṭha-navanipāta jātaka aṭṭhakathā.
92. Dasa-ekādasanipātajātaka aṭṭhakathā.
93. Dvādasa-terasa-pakiṇṇaka-nipātajātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
94. Vīsati jātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
95. Jātattakī-sotattakī-nidāna aṭṭhakathā.[2]
96. Cūḷaniddesa.[3]
97. Cūḷaniddesa-aṭṭhakathā.
98. Mahāniddesa.
99. Mahāniddesa.[3]
100. Jātaka-ṭīkā.
101. Dumajātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
102. Apadāna.
103. Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā.
104. Paṭisambhidāmagga.[4]
105. Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā.
106. Paṭisambhidāmagga-gaṇṭhipada.
107. Visuddhimagga-aṭṭhakathā.
108. Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā.
109. Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā.
110. Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā.
111. Nāmarūpa-ṭīkā (new).[5]
112. Paramatthavinicchaya (new).[6]
113. Mohavicchedanī.
114. Lokapaññatti.[7]
115. Mohanayana.
116. Lokuppatti.
117. Aruṇavati.
118. Chagatidīpanī.[8]
119. Sahassaraṃsimāliṇī.[9]
120. Dasavatthu.[9]

[1] Text of Cariyāpiṭaka (?).

[2] A Sotatthakī, written in Ceylon, is mentioned in the Piṭakatthamain, p. 58.

[3] Mahāniddesa, a part of the Khuddakanikāya, 'being an exposition by Sāriputta of sixteen suttas which compose the fourth book or Atthakavagga of the Suttanipāta' (see *Catalogue of Pali-Burmese MSS. in the British Museum*). The Cūlan° is the second part of the Niddesa.

[4] Ed. Arnold Taylor, PTS. (1905–1907).

[5] Nāmarūpapariccheda[ppakaraṇa] is 'a treatise belonging to the literature on the Abhidhamma, being an exposition of the Buddhistic philosophical term "Nāmarūpam", or Name and Form, by Anuruddhācariya' (B.M. Pali and Burmese Catalogue). The terms 'new' (or modern) and 'old' (ancient) are translated here from Burmese *thit* and *houng*.

[6] On the Abhidhamma. This work (by Anuruddha) is in Forchhammer's *List*, p. xviii.

[7] By Saddhammaghosa of Thatōn.

[8] By Saddhammaghosa of Thatōn. See Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxvi.

[9] Sahassaramsī, mentioned in P.TH., p. 55, is a ṭīkā on the Mahābodhivaṃsa, It was written at Pagan in the reign of Narapati, A.D. 1174 (B.E. 536). Dasavatthu, Sahassavatthu, and Sīhalavatthu were composed in Ceylon. The authors are unknown to the P.TH. (p. 57). On Peṭakopadesa see Dissertation, by Rudolf Fuchs, Berlin, 1908.

121. Sahassavatthu.[1]
122. Sīhaḷavatthu.[1]
123. Peṭakopadesa.
124. Tathāgatuppatti.[2]
125. Dhammacakka [? °pavattanasutta].
126. Dhammacakka-ṭīkā.
127. Dāṭhādhātuvaṃsa.[3]
128. Dāṭhādhātuvaṃsa ṭīkā.
129. Cūḷavaṃsa.[3]
130. Dīpavaṃsa.[3]
131. Thūpavaṃsa.[3]
132. Anāgatavaṃsa.[3]
133. Bodhivaṃsa.[3]
134. Mahāvaṃsa.[3]
135. Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā.[3]
136. Dhammadāna [? in text dhammandan].[4]
137. Mahākaccāyana.
138. Nyāsa.[5]
139. Than-byin-ṭīkā.[5]
140. Mahāthera-ṭīkā.
141. Rūpasiddhi-aṭṭhakathā.[6]
142. Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā.
143. Bālāvatāra.[7]
144. Vuttimoggallāna.[8]
145. Pañcika-Moggallāna.
146. Pañcika-Moggallāna-ṭīkā.
147. Kārikā.[9]
148. Kārikā-ṭīkā.
149. Liṅgatthavivaraṇa.[10]
150. Liṅgatthavivaraṇa-ṭīkā.
151. Mukhamattasāra.[11]
152. Mukhamattasāraṭīkā.
153. Mahāgaṇa.
154. Cūḷagaṇa.
155. Abhidhāna.[12]
156. Abhidhāna-ṭīkā.
157. Saddanīti.[13]
158. Cūḷanirutti.[14]
159. Cūḷasandhivisodhana.
160. Saddatthabhedacintā.[15]
161. Saddatthabhedacintā-ṭīkā.
162. Padasodhana.[16]

[1] See note 9 on preceding page.
[2] By Nāṇagambhira (?). Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxv; P.TH., p. 60.
[3] Written in Ceylon. P.TH., pp. 53, 55–7.
[4] Probably dealing with the *dhammadānānisaṃsa*, the advantage or merit of preaching the law to others.
[5] See above, p. 21.
[6] Rūpasiddhi, the well-known Pali grammar composed in Ceylon by Dīpaṅkara, otherwise Buddhapiya.
[7] By Dhammakitti or Saddhammakitti. Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii, A Pali grammar of the Kaccāyana school.
[8] The Moggallānavyākaraṇa is accompanied with the *vutti* or explanation. See Devamitta's edition, Colombo, 1890.
[9] See above, p. 16.
[10] See above, p. 22.
[11] See above, p. 25.
[12] Abhidhāna, the Abhidhānappadīpikā of Moggallāna, about 1153 A.D., 'the only dictionary of synonyms in the Pali language' (Subhūti). The text was edited in 1883 by the thera Subhūti and a complete index (Abhidhānappadīpakāsūci) in 1893.
[13] See above, pp. 16, 17.
[14] Cūḷanirutti, a grammar of the Kaccāyana school.
[15] See above, pp. 20, 22.
[16] Padasādhana (?). The Padasādhana is a Pali grammar composed in Ceylon.

163. Sambandhacintā-ṭīkā.[1]
164. Rūpāvatāra.[2]
165. Saddāvatāra.
166. Saddhammadīpaka.
167. Sotamālinī.[3]
168. Sambandhamālinī.[4]
169. Padāvahāmahācakka [Padāvatāra?].
170. Ṇvādi [Moggallāna].[5]
171. Katacā [Kṛt-cakra?].
172. Mahākā [°kappa or °kaccāyana?].
173. Bālattajana [Bālāvatāraṇa?]
174. Suttāvali.[6]
175. Akkharasammohacchedanī.[7]
176. Cetiddhīnemiparigāthā [*sic*] [?].
177. Samāsataddhitadīpanī.[8]
178. Bījakkhyam.[9]
179. Kaccāyanasāra.[10]
180. Bālappabodhana.[11]
181. Atthasālinī.
182. Atthasālinī-nissaya.
183. Kaccāyana-nissaya.
184. Rūpasiddhi-nissaya.
185. Jātaka-nissaya.
186. Jātakagaṇṭhi.
187. Dhammapadagaṇṭhi-nissaya.
188. Kammavācā.[12]
189. Dhammasatta.[13]
190. Kalāpapañcikā [°pañjikā].[14]
191. Kalāpapañcikā-ṭīkā.
192. Kalāpasuttapratiññāsaku [?°patiññāpaka] ṭīkā.
193. Piṇḍo-ṭīkā.[15]
194. Rattamālā.[16]
195. Rattamālā-ṭīkā.
196. Roganidāna.[17]

[1] See above, p. 22, and P.TH., p. 67. [2] A treatise on inflection (?).
[3] Sotabbamālinī (?). The work of that name is a collection of edifying tales.
[4] A treatise on syntactical relation (?).
[5] Ṇvādi Moggallāna, a treatise on gender by Saṅgharakkhita based on Moggallāna.
[6] Suttāvali = Sūtras of Kaccāyana.
[7] On analysis of words or correct division of syllables.
[8] On compounds and suffixes. [9] Bījakkhyam, on algebra (?).
[10] See above, pp. 36, 37.
[11] Written at Vijayapura (Panyā), author not known. P.TH., p. 72.
[12] See above, pp. 6, 7. [13] Dharmaçāstra (Law code). See above, pp. 33, 84.
[14] Commentary on the Kātantra grammar (see above, p. 26); Forchhammer, *Report*, 1879–80, p. 12 ('The Kātantra seems to have been the most influential of these later grammars [not belonging to the Pāṇinean system], having served as a model for the standard Pali grammar of Kacchāyana and for the native grammars of the Tibetans and Dravidians'); A. A. Macdonell, article *Sanskrit Literature* in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (*The Indian Empire*, vol. ii, p. 251); see also Weber, *Ind. Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., pp. 243, 336; also the text Kātantra of Śarvavarman with the commentary of Durgasiṃha, ed. J. Eggeling, *Bibl. Indica*, vol. lxxxi.
[15] Probably Vṛnda, the medical treatise by the author of that name. See Jolly, *Medicin*, pp. 4 and 6 (*Grundriss*, iii, 10).
[16] Perhaps Ratnamālā. Possibly the famous dictionary Abhidhānaratnamālā, of Hālāyudha, about the middle of the tenth century. See Zachariae, *Die Indischen Wörterbücher* (*Grundriss*, i, 33), p. 5, and Ludwig Heller's *Halāyudha's Kavirahasya* (Göttingen, 1894).
[17] Medicine, possibly the Mādhavanidāna or a work based on that *Hauptwerk*. See Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 7.

197. Dabraguṇa.[1]
198. Dabraguṇa-ṭīkā.
199. Chandoviciti.[2]
200. Candaprutti[3] [Cāndra-vṛtti].
201. Candrapañcikara[3] [°pañjikā].
202. Kāmandakī.[4]
203. Dhammapaññāpakaraṇa.
204. Mahosaṭṭhi [Mahosadha?].[5]
205. Subodhālaṃkāra.[6]
206. Subodhālaṃkāra-ṭīkā.
207. Tanogabuddhi [?].
208. Taṇḍi [Daṇḍin?].[7]
209. Taṇḍi-ṭīkā.
210. Caṅkadāsa.[8]
211. Ariyasaccāvātara.
212. Vicitragandha.
213. Saddhammupāya.[9]
214. Sārasaṅgaha.[10]
215. Sārapiṇḍa.
216. Paṭipattisaṅgaha.
217. Sūlachāraka.[11]
218. Pālatakka [bālatarka?, logic for beginners?].
219. Trakkabhāsā[12] [Tarkabhāṣā]
220. Saddakārikā.
221. Kāsikāpruttipalini.[13]
222. Saddhammadīpaka.
223. Satyatatvavabodha [?].
224. Bālappabodhana-pruttikaraṇa.
225. Atthabyākhyam.[14]
226. Cūḷaniruttimañjūsā.[14]
227. Mañjūsāṭīkābyākhyam.[14]
228. Anuṭīkābyākhyam.
229. Pakiṇṇakanikāya.
230. Catthapayoga [?].

[1] Dravyaguṇasaṃgraha (pharmacology). See Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 6; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxxv.

[2] Explanation of metres.

[3] On the Cāndra grammar and its relation to the Pali grammar of Moggallāna see articles by O. Franke, JPTS., 1902–3; also A. C. Burnell, on The Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians, Mangalore, 1875.

[4] For Kāmandakī's Nītisāra (elements of Polity) see the edition of S. Venkatarama Sāstry, Madras, 1895, and studies by Carlo Formichi, *Giornale della Società Asiatica*, Florence, 1887.

[5] See the Mahā-ummagga Jātaka (in which Mahosadha is the Bodhisatta). Fausböll, Jātaka, vol. vi, pp. 329–478.

[6] Subodhālaṃkāra on rhetoric was composed in Ceylon by Saṅgharakkhita. P.TH., p. 75. See edition of G. E. Fryer (under title *Pali Studies*, 1875).

[7] The work inscribed is probably Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarça.

[8] Evidently Caṅgadāsa, author of the Caṅgakārikā, aphorisms on grammar (Kātantra school). See edition of Jagannadhasvāmiy, Vizagapatam, 1896.

[9] Saddhammopāyana by Ānanda, ed. Richard Morris, JPTS., 1887.

[10] Sārasaṅgaha, 'a compilation of important points in Buddhism' (so described in the British Museum Catalogue of Pali MSS.).

[11] Presumably an abridged version of the famous medical work Cārakasaṃhitā. See Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 11.

[12] The Tarkabhāṣā, on logic, of Keçavamiçra (?).

[13] A commentary on the Kāçikāvṛtti of Jayāditya and Vāmana, on Pāṇini (?). See *Zwei Kapitel der Kāçikā übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung verschen*, von Bruno Liebich, Breslau, 1892.

[14] Grammatical commentaries or glosses.

231. Matthapayoga [?].
232. Rogayātrā [on medicine?].
233. Rogayātrā-ṭīkā.
234. Satthekavipasvaprakāsa [?].
235. Rājamattanta.[1]
236. Parāsava.[2]
237. Koladdhaja.[3]
238. Brihajjātaka.[4]
239. Brihajjātaka-ṭīkā.
240. Dāṭhādhātuvaṃsa and ṭīkā.[5]
241. Patigaviveka-ṭīkā [?].
242. Alaṃkāra ṭīkā [on Subodhālaṃkāra?].
243. Calindapañcikā [commentary on C° ?].
244. Vedavidhinimittanirutti-vaṇṇanā.[6]
245. Niruttibyākhyam.
246. Vuttodaya.[7]
247. Vuttodaya-ṭīkā.
248. Milindapañha [in text Malinapañña].
249. Sāratthasaṅgaha.[8]
250. Amarakosanissaya.
251. Piṇḍo nissaya.
252. Kalāpanissaya.
253. Roganidānabyākhyam.
254. Dabbragaṇa ṭīkā.
255. Amarakosa.
256. Daṇḍī-ṭīkā.
257. Daṇḍī-ṭīkā.
258. Daṇḍī-ṭīkā.
259. Koladhvaja-ṭīkā.
260. Alaṃkāra.
261. Alaṃkāra-ṭīkā.
262. Bhesajjamañjūsā.[9]
263. Yuddhajeyya [Yuddhādhyāya?].
264. Yatanaprabhā-ṭīkā [Ratana° ?].[10]
265. Viragdha.[11]
266. Viragdha-ṭīkā.
267. Cūḷamaṇisāra.
268. Rājamattanta-ṭīkā.[12]
269. Mṛtyuvañcana
270. Mahākālacakka
271. Mahākālacakka ṭīkā
[Çaiva works?].

[1] Cf. Forchhammer, *List*, pp. xxxvii and xxxviii, Rājamattam and Rājamattanissayo. Probably the (astrological) Rājamartaṇḍa.

[2] Laghupārāçaryam (on astrology) (?).

[3] This may be the Goḷādhyāya of the astronomical treatise Siddhānta Çiromaṇi, by Bhāskarācārya, A.D. 1114. See Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 435; other references see Duff, *Chronology of India*, p. 139.

[4] The Brijjātaka of Varāhamihira, a well-known work on astrology. See above, p. 108. Cf. Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxxvii.

[5] P.TH., p. 55. [6] An exposition of rules of divination (?).

[7] The Vuttodaya, a standard Pali work on prosody, was written in Ceylon in the twelfth century by Saṅgharakkhita. See edition of Major Fryer, JASB., 1877. See in Mr. Tha Do Oung's Pali grammar (published 1902) the section on metrics.

[8] A medical work so called was written by Buddhadāsa, king of Ceylon, in the fourth century (Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 15).

[9] On medicine.

[10] A medical work called Ratnaprabhā is mentioned by R. Hoernle in JRAS., 1906, p. 289 (*Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine*).

[11] Probably a copyist's mistake for Vidagdha (= Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana on riddles), by Dharmadāsa. See above, p. 28.

[12] Cf. Forchhammer, *List*, pp. xxxv ff., section v, the medical, astronomical, astrological works, etc.; and *Report*, 1879–80, pp. 10 ff.

272. Paraviveka [commentary on Parahita?].
273. Kaccāyana-rūpāvatāra.
274. Pumbharasārī [or °karasārī in text] [?].
275. Taktāvatāra [Tattvāvatāra?]
276. Taktāvatāra-ṭīkā.
277. Nyāyabindu.[1]
278. Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā.
279. Hetubindu.[2]
280. Hetubindu-ṭīkā.
281. Rikkaṇiyayātrā [?].
282. Rikkaṇiyayātrā-ṭīkā.
283. Barittaratākara [Vṛttaratnākara?].[3]
284. Shyārāmitikabya [?].
285. Yuttisaṅgaha.
286. Yuttisaṅgaha-ṭīkā.
287. Sārasaṅgaha-nissaya.
288. Rogayātrā-nissaya.
289. Roganidāna-nissaya.
290. Saddatthabhedacintānissaya.
291. Pārānissaya.
292. Shyārāmitikabya nissaya [?].
293. Brihajjātaka-nissaya.
294. Rattamālā.
295. Narayuttisaṅgaha.

[1] The ancient collection of Sūtras on logic called Nyāyabindu. See Peterson's preface to his edition of Dharmottara's Nyāyabinduṭīkā, Calcutta, 1889 (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

[2] On logic (?).

[3] The Vṛittaratnākara (on metres), by Kedara Bhaṭṭa.

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